(e) has the attention of the authorities been driven to the severe hardship that they were put to and are still suffering from because of want of proper hostel facilities;

(f) what do Government propose to do to obviate these difficulties?

Mr. P. Sankaran Nambiyar *(Director of Public Instruction):*

(a) 231. 89 males and 142 females.
(b) 117. (31 females and 86 males). All were provided.
(c) In 10 buildings taken on rent in the surrounding places of the Institute.
(d) Nil.
(e) No answer required in view of answers above.
(f) Do.

2. MOTIONS OF NO-CONFIDENCE

Mr. P. Govinda Menon *(Ernakulam):* There are two motions standing in my name, one each against the Ministers. May I request the President to allow me to move them together?

Mr. President: At the time when notice was given and when the date for the discussion was fixed, I put the question to the Hon'ble Member whether he proposed to take the two motions together and he said, yes, and I then proceeded on that assumption.

Mr. Kumaran Ezhuthassan *(Vadakkancheri):* I rise on a point of order, Sir. With these motions worded as they are, being of identical phraseology, but directed against two different Hon'ble Ministers, if that is allowed to be moved jointly, it will come to a case of giving a burial to the dead as also to the non-dead. Therefore, I raise this point of order that the motions being worded and given notice of as independent motions against different individuals, they may be separately dealt with, the first being taken first and disposed of and the second being taken up after the first.

Mr. President: It may be necessary to vote upon each motion separately, but I think the discussion may proceed on the two together.

Mr. P. Kumaran Ezhuthassan *(Vadakkancheri):* Am I to take it Sir, as the ruling on the point of order?

Mr. President: Yes, that is the decision of the Chair.

Mr. P. Govinda Menon *(Ernakulam):* Sir, under Rule 27 of the Legislative Council Rules, I move the motions standing in my name.

"This House has no confidence in M.R.Ry. Parambi Lonappen Avl., Minister for Public Health."

"This House has no confidence in M.R.Ry. K. Balakrishna Menon Avl., Minister for Development."

Sir, it is not without a due realisation of the gravity of the step taken by me that I rise in my seat to make these motions. And it behoves me to explain why after adopting a policy of non-interference in the making and unmaking of the Ministry for the last one year I attempt today to make an attack on this ministry which if successful ought to be followed by the immediate resignation of the Ministers.

Sir, the people of Cochin are ripe for Full Responsible Government. I have yet to hear anything validly made out against the feasibility or advisability of transferring all departments of the administration to popular ministers. The system of entrusting a few departments of Government to one or two non-official members of this House is neither Responsible nor Representative Government. It is a system unheard of in the Constitutional history of any country except in that of the Provinces of India where it was introduced in 1920 and lived a discredited existence for about 15 years. True representatives of the people did not care to touch it or even to go near it. This system of Dyarchy was conceived by an ingenious foreign power in order to deceive and disintegrate a growing nationalism. Analysed logically to its limits, this system is simply one which seeks to confer the honours and emoluments of office on non-officials. Ministers under this system are merely officers, heads of one or more Government departments. It is difficult if not impossible to equate them or even compare them to those leaders of the people who in States with real Representative Government mould and develop the life and destinies of their people.

There is probably nothing fundamentally wrong in certain non-officials being asked to perform the routine duties of administration, although I believe that sound canons of administration require that the duties discharged by our present Ministers ought really to be discharged by permanent civil servants subject to the discipline and control laid down by the Service Regulations. But, Sir, there is very great danger to the growth of Representative institutions if these super-departmental heads are allowed to masquerade as Ministers of the people.

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It is therefore with very great relief and hope that the people of Cochin heard the announcement made by His Highness the Maharaja on the Installation Day 4½ months ago. In that announcement our Gracious Ruler made his intention clear that the Ministers and the Diwan ought together to form a cabinet for Cochin. Political institution of a rare order, a true understanding of the scope and possibilities of Ministerial Government grace that momentous statement.

This announcement afforded an opportunity to my esteemed friends, the Public Health and Development Ministers to raise themselves from the position of officers to the status of Ministers. But they, Sir, seem to be in no hurry about it. The two Ministers are reported to have met the Diwan at Coonnoor early in Edavam this year. There, under the Diwan's mediation they settled the question of allocation of departments between them. Soon after that the Hon'ble the Development Minister gave an interview to a press correspondent when the Hon'ble Minister for Development is reported to have said that the first meeting of the Cabinet took place at Coonnoor. I think it was published in "Deepam" of Ernakulam. A strange conception of Cabinet Government indeed! But now it appears that the Rules are not yet drawn up. Sir, during the stress and strain of a global war which threatened the very existence of Great Britain, the Premier of England offered to France the idea of a Union of the British and French Empires. Our Ministers have not yet had time enough to implement the Ruler's desire to have Cabinet consultation between the Ministers. Who are drawing up these rules, Sir? The clerks in the Secretariat? The first and foremost duty of our Ministers, if they meant to advance the cause of Responsible Government was to have got the Rules drawn up and to begin functioning in the Cabinet. It was not solely the duty of the Reserved Half. It was the privilege and duty of the Ministers to have insisted upon it. It enlarges and advances the powers and privileges of this House and the people and therefore it ought to have been the thing that engaged their attention first.

Sir, the people of Cochin and this House tolerate these Ministers only so long as they constitute themselves as the spearheads of the people's movement for Full Responsible Government. I contend, Sir, that no member of this House is interested in finding jobs for one or more members of this House. The test of the success or failure of a Minister, according to me lies in this. Is he only the holder of a job, or has he constituted himself a volunteer and soldier in the peoples' movement for political emancipation. A Minister in Cochin today if he has felt the pulse of the people, if he has understood the mood of the people will not occupy those seats now occupied by my friends the Ministers, unless it be to fight the people's cause. That is what this House wants the Ministers to do. And in the light of that test, my esteemed friends have forfeited their claims to be our Ministers.

Sir, they say these are Popular Ministers. The term popular Minister means people's Minister. Whom do my esteemed friends represent? Which section of the people in Cochin have confidence in them? On Monday 13th Karkadagam there was a wonderful demonstration of the mood of the people of Cochin. As one man the people of Cochin rose in every village, hamlet, town and city of Cochin and demanded in unmistakable terms what they consider to be their birth right. No section of the people, no organisation in the State was there which did not associate with the demand for Full Responsible Government. Irinjalakkuda, from which constituency the Hon'ble Minister for Public Health was returned, lapsed into absolute stillness that day. Even the busy market was closed. It was as if the Town of Irinjalakkuda shut its eyes in utter shame in that its accredited representative, flouting the wishes of the people, ignoring the mood of the people, in supreme contempt for the people, stealthily crept in the early hours of the morning into the Legislative Council Hall and there occupied his cosy seat.

Mr. Parambi Lonappen *(Minister for Public Health)*: I came at 11-15 a.m. and not stealthily in the early hours of the morning. I want to correct that statement.

Mr. P. Govinda Menon *(Ernakulam)*: That was the information I received and I accept the statement of the Minister that he did not enter the Legislative Council during the early hours of the morning; but, Sir, at about 9 o'clok I saw his car in the Legislative Council compound.

And what for, Sir,? To deliver a speech to admiring empty benches that it will be the proudest day of his life if he will be able to get full Responsible Government for Cochin. Sir, I ask, whom do my esteemed friends the Hon'ble Ministers represent. Not the people of Cochin certainly, the people whom the Minister for Public Health characterised as mob the other day. Do you think, Sir, we shall ever forget how the Minister for Public Health in the hysteria caused by the prospects of losing office, characterised our organised, disciplined, determined people by

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the contemptuous term the mob? Sir, if the 14 lakhs of the people of Cochin, constitute a mob, then in the name of that mob, I declare that the poor, unpolished, unthinking, unruly people the mob do not want this gentleman Minister.

The developments which took place in the constitutional make up of the Development Minister almost overnight constitute interesting material to the student of office psychology. When on previous occasion, I suggested from the flour of this House a few months back that the House ought not to vote money to this administration, like the proverbial crow which attempted to fly with the eagle he too endorsed that view. But alas, the testing time came none too soon. You, Sir, heard the apologia of the Development Minister the other day opposing my motion to throw out the Budget for General Administration. He thinks probably that with his elevation or rather after his fall into the Ministry, we are having Responsible Government.

Sir, these gentelmen who have cut themselves adrift from the people's demand for full Responsible Government are on that ground unfit to occupy the high office of popular Ministers. The other day we handed over a document containing that unanimous demand of the people. Before handing over that document to you, Sir, I sent that document to the Secretaries of the Ministerialist Party in the hope of getting their signatures also to that document, but I am sorry to say they did not sign it. I am sure if my Hon'ble friend Mrs. Dakshayani Velayudhan who has been returned to the Constituent Assembly on the Congress ticket had been here, she would have added her name to that document, thereby raising the number to 31.

Sir, ever since I gave notice of these motions, constitutional Pandits have been whispering wisdom into my ears. I have been told, Sir, that an opposition which is unwilling to shoulder the burdens and responsibilities of office ought not to sponsor a no-confidence motion. To that well-meaning friends I reply that it is not correct to say that the opposition parties in this House are not averse to shouldering the responsibilities of administration. But we certainly refuse to have anything to do with this shadow of power with respect to the administration of a few unimportant departments. I can assure this House and whoever else requires assurance that provided real and full responsibilities of administration are transferred to popular representatives under a cabinet system we will see to it that a stable ministry will come into existence

Before I close, I must dispel an impression which somehow is gaining ground at the instance, I believe, of interested parties. It is said, Sir, that we seek to remove these two Ministers to have two others in their place. I wish to take this occasion—and I have the authority of the leaders of the two other opposition parties to make this statement—to state that our attack is both against the Ministers and the nature of their office and therefore this motion besides being a no-confidence motion against the Ministers is also a reflection in this House of the intense feeling surging in the minds of the people for Full Responsible Government. None of us in the opposition wants simply to displace the Ministers. We seek through their removal, a thorough overhaul of the constitution for Full Responsible Government even under the present constitution with all departments of Government transferred to popular representatives. Thirty Members of this House have already on last Thursday presented a document embod ing these demands and this motion is intended not alone to remove two Ministers not in unison with the mood of the people but also as a reiteration of that demand.

Well-meaning friends and ill-meaning foes in the guise of friends ask me. "Is this not destructive tactics?" To them and to others who think like them I say, destruction is not always bad. It forms part of the vital processes of nature. Pain, death, and destruction, are essential for evolution and life. We seek to destory the Ministry in the hope of creating a better, fuller and acceptable system of popular administration. Whether we succeed will depend, Sir, upon the co-operation of this House, and for that conjoint endeavour I call all to co-operate.

Sir, I make the motions standing in my name.

Mr. Puthur Achutha Menon *(Kattur)*: I second it.

Mr. A. Eachara Menon *(Chittur-Tattamangalam)*: Sir, I have no very great speech to make. From what has been heard now, I think the motto of the speech has been, 'give the dog a bad name and hang it'. He has stated some maxims and some propositions. Those propositions have yet to be proved. My only request to him is this. He wanted the members to be entrusted with full responsible Government. The authority to entrust responsible Government had entrusted certain portions of it to the Members of the Council. The people had not given sufficient time to them to frame their policies here. When the matter is such it is too early to think.....

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Mr. P. Govinda Menon *(Ernakulam):* One year is not sufficient? We have only 2¼ years' life.

Mr. A. Eachara Menon *(Chittur-Tattamangalam):* That being the case, my only request is not to press this proposition to a division, not because we are against full responsible Government (*hear, hear*), but we are yet to prove that we deserve it at least to the person who had entrusted these departments to us. So I request again that this proposition may not be extended to its full length.

Shabdai S. Koder *(Nominated):* Sir, No-confidence motion against the Ministry has become an annual or bi-annual feature of the working of our constitutional reforms. I do not know why attempts are so often made to unseat the Ministry. Does the attraction lie in the salary and allowance the Ministers get or, is it their high position? Every opposition party one day or the other wants to put its thumb into this rich pie. Even my friend Mr. Ayyappan is prepared to cast off his communist garb and become a full-fledged capitalist. This reminds me, Sir, of the old saying, 'scratch a socialist, and you will find him a capitalist'.

Mr. P. Govinda Menon *(Ernakulam):* Is the converse proposition also the same, *viz*: scratch a capitalist and you will see a socialist?

Shabdai S. Koder *(Nominated):* Yes, I am a socialist.

Mr. Puthur Achutha Menon *(Kattur):* Save us from such socialists.

Shabdai S. Koder *(Nominated):* I say, save us from you.

What kind of a child this unholy alliance between the Socialist and Progressive Parties, blessed and solemnised by the priestly Prajamandal Party, is going to produce, future alone can tell. It will also be interesting to see how long this baby is going to live. Will it be a still-born babe? Or will it be strangled to death by the very match-maker who brought about this ill-advised union? I had the privilege of being a Member of this Council when the first instalment of the constitutional reforms was introduced and I distinctly remember at a farewell dinner we gave to the then Diwan Sir Shanmukham Chetty, the leader of the Prajamandal Party welcomed the reforms and assured Sir Shanmukham that with all their defects, they would be successfully worked. I am sorry to find that his role now is not to work but to wreck the reforms so graciously bestowed on us by our Rulers. If there is one party that has done something for the advancement of constitutional reforms, it is the present Ministerial Party (*Laughter*). Our methods, Sir, are different. We do not believe in marching through the streets shouting meaningless slogans against His Highness, and His Highness' Government and even against my poor friend Mr. Ezhuthassan. Regarding the demonstration on Monday, I may refer to the words of the Editor of a local weekly. "No doubt, the manifestations organised by the Prajamandal Party of Cochin with the co-operation of the socialists and communist ranks created a passing atmosphere of political impatience in the State last Monday; but except the unthinking and short-sighted who did not see anything beyond their noses, the majority of the State's people just witnessed those demonstrations as tolerable out-bursts of misplaced leadership".

Mr. M. K. Raja *(Mulakunnathukavu):* Which is that paper, please?

Shabdai S. Koder *(Nominated):* The Malabar Herald.

Mr. P. Govinda Menon *(Nominated):* From where is it published; I have not heard about it.

Shabdai S. Koder *(Nominated):* It is published from British Cochin which is under the Congress Government now. (*Laughter*).

We also do not believe in enacting scenes which will have spectacular effects. This may pay in British India where 80 per cent of its population are illiterate and the very opposite is the case in our State. Here our people have ears to hear and eyes to see. Hitherto there was only one Minister to manage the transferred half, but we have succeeded in getting another, and what more, the whole Act is being revised so that ere long we will have full responsible Government functioning in our State. It is against such a party the motion is moved. I will leave the wisdom of the opposition at that. Another charge made against the Ministers some time ago is that the Ministers did not interfere or resign when the liberty of the people was at a stake.

Mr. P. Govinda Menon *(Ernakulam):* I did not make that charge. This seems to be a pre-prepared speech.

Shabdai S. Koder *(Nominated):* You spoke about that.

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Mr. P. Govinda Menon *(Ernakulam):* No, Sir.

Sabdai S. Koder *(Nominated):* I heard so. *(Laughter).*

For the functioning of all organised societies including Government, law and order have to be maintained at all costs. What is happening in Congress-governed India today ? Is not force employed there ? The maintenance of law and order are not included in the portfolios of the Ministers and they therefore cannot be held responsible for excesses if there have been any. It is open to the Prajamandal Party as it was open to the Minister to resign from the Council Why didn't they protest by resigning ? It is rather amusing that the Prajamandal Party who are for the preservation of the liberty of the people at all costs are themselves anxious to introduce legislation that will seriously interfere with the personal liberties of at least the drinking public of Cochin ? The Member for Labour characterised the budget speech of the Hon'ble Minister for Development as fit to be delivered before a Chamber of Commerce. He has also been attacking the employer in season and out of season. The labour problem has come up and we have to do everything in our power to go to their aid and introduce legislation to promote their comfort and happiness. I am for it. Our Party support it and our Minister is doing it, but if our country should progress there should be perfect understanding between the employer and the employee. I know the labourer as much, if not more than, the Hon'ble Member for Labour. They are responsible and law-abiding, but unfortunately their present leaders are exploiting them by inciting them to violence. It may be only shouting of slogans today, but a day will come if the so-called labour leaders are not put in their proper places when we will witness hooliganism and rowdyism in our so far peaceful country. If there is an illegal lock-out, there is a hue and cry by the Labour Member.....

Mr. P. Govinda Menon *(Ernakulam):* Is this the view of the Ministerialist Party ?

Mr. Sabdai S. Koder *(Nominated):* I am speaking for myself.

.....and the House and the wheels of law are set in motion against the employer, at the same time if there is an illegal strike, and they have been many, not even a whisper is heard and Government is silent and it is this Government that the Labour Member condemns as favouring the employer.

Mr. Puthur Achyuta Menon *(Kattur):* Is he pleading for the Ministers or the employers ?

Mr. Sabdai S. Koder *(Nominated):* The honour of the Government is at stake. Let there be justice between man and man. Punish the employer if he does wrong, but punish also the employee if he goes wrong. Let there be one law in the land. Sympathy and compassion are emotions that have their proper place and use; but even these noble feelings must be silenced in the presence of justice. In conclusion may I appeal to you not to blacken what has been and what is going to be graciously given to us by our beloved Ruler. If you wreck the constitution I am afraid an impression will be created outside our State that we are not yet fit for full responsible Government. With these words, I oppose the motion.

Dr. Mrs. T. Francis *(Women-Ernakulam):* Mr. President, Sir, I stand up, Sir, to make a few observations on the no-confidence motion tabled for consideration, not because, I am a member of the Nationalist Party, but because, I fail to understand the real purpose of such a motion at this juncture.

His Highness' recent message to the Council has included in it, the assurance of full Responsible Government, but as the Hon'ble Members ought to know that it is not a matter that can be announced on the spur of the moment. There are several matters which have to be very carefully considered and settled before the announcement can safely be made. The Diwan President has also stated that he would be making an announcement before the end of this session. Would it not be proper and decent on the part of the House to await that announcement before steps are taken to wreck the Constitution? Now what would be the result if the no-confidence motion is moved and passed ? What is the purpose and the motive behind it? Have the Hon'ble Ministers done anything reprehensive as to deserve the censure ? Can any reasonable man expect a ministry to get through any scheme within such a short period of one year, they were in office ? The Minister for Development was in office only for two months. He has not as yet had the time to take his bearings. So, one should conclude that there is a sinister motive behind the move. The author of the motion is tied down to the principle of non-acceptance of office and what of the other parties who are joining with him. If they have the strength to accept office and continue to function, by all means, they can have the position. But the horizon is not clear; everything is in a mist and uncertain. I cannot understand the under-current force. I only hope and pray that such an attitude on the part of the responsible members concerned would lead the land to stability and not to repeated stunts.

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It has become abundantly clear during the debate that all the four parties have one and the same policy, the policy of attaining full Responsible Government under the aegis of His Highness. If that be really so, what, may I know, are the impediments against their fusion, and co-operation in attaining the common aim ?

I have therefore to appeal to the different parties to throw off their selfish motives and aim of self aggrandisement and work together for the good of the land without wrecking the constitution, which I am afraid would be the result of passing the no-confidence motion and put back the clock of progress and make ourselves the laughing stock of the outside world under conditions now prevailing in India. His Highness we are assured is considering the ways and means to grant us full responsible Government and when His Highness is also prepared to entrust the prestige and status of his Royal House into our hands, would it be proper on our part to endeavour to wrench it from him before time, thus exhibiting the unreliability of those in whom he is prepared to place his trust. This would be unbecoming of honourable men and loyal subjects.

Hon'ble Members, considering all things, I request you one and all not to press for this undesirable motion now. Wait a moment, we will get it; we are sure to get it. The Government had made this point clear in the Gracious Message of His Highness announced the other day agreeing to hand over the responsibility into our hands. So wait a moment; don't be in a hurry and we are sure to get it. With these few words I resume my seat.

മിസ്റ്റർ പി. വി. സബാസ്റ്റ്യൻ : Sir, കഴിഞ്ഞ മീനമാസത്തിലെ നീലാകാശത്തിൽ ഒരു ചെറിയ കാവ് ഉരുണ്ടുകൂടുന്നതു ഞങ്ങൾ കണ്ടു. അതു് അന്തരീക്ഷത്തെ നിഷ്പ്രഭമാക്കുകയില്ല എന്നാണു ഞങ്ങൾ വിശ്വസിച്ചതു്;അഥവാ ഞങ്ങളെ വിശ്വസിപ്പിച്ചതു്. യാതൊരു ദ്രോഹത്തിനും ഞങ്ങൾ ആളല്ല, അതിനൊട്ടൊരുക്കവുമില്ല എന്നു് അങ്ങോട്ടു് ചോദിക്കാതെ ഇങ്ങോട്ടൊരു വാഗ്ദാനവുമുണ്ടായി. എന്നാൽ വാഗ്ദാനങ്ങൾ വെറും ജലരേഖകളായി പരിണമിക്കുന്ന കാഴ്ച ഇവിടെ മാത്രമല്ല, ഇന്നത്തെ ലോകരീതിതന്നെ അതാണെന്നു പറയുന്നവരോടും വാദിക്കുന്നവരോടും എനിക്കൊന്നും പറയുവാനില്ല. എന്റെ സ്നേഹിതനായ മിസ്റ്റർ പണിക്കരുടെ ഭാഷയിൽ പറയുകയാണെങ്കിൽ "അപ്പൊഴത്തോന്നും മയ്യാല", രാഷ്ട്രീയക്കളരിയിലെ പയറ്റുമുറകളിൽ വലിയ സാങ്കേതികപരിചയമൊന്നുമില്ലാത്ത എന്നെസംബന്ധിച്ചേടത്തോളം ഒരു പുതുമയായി എനിക്കു തോന്നാമെങ്കിലും കൊച്ചിയിലെ രാഷ്ട്രീയപുരോഹിതന്മാർക്കു് ഇതെല്ലാം ഒരു നിത്യസംഭവമായിരിക്കാം. കൂടെക്കൂടെയുള്ള ചേരിമാറ്റവും അങ്ങിനെ മാറ്റുന്നതിനു് ഒരു സെക്കൻറുമുമ്പുവരെ ആത്മസുഹൃത്തുക്കളെപ്പോലെ വർത്തിച്ചിരുന്നവർ ഉടനടി തിരിഞ്ഞുനിന്നു കലം കുത്തുന്നതും കഴിഞ്ഞ കാര്യങ്ങൾ വിളിച്ചു ചൊല്ലി ആക്ഷേപിക്കുന്നതും കൊച്ചിയിലെ നിഭാഗൃകരമായ രാഷ്ട്രീയസംസ്കാരത്തിന്റെ ഒരു പ്രത്യേകതയായിത്തീർന്നിരിക്കുന്നു.

സർ, ഈ പ്രമേയത്തിന്റെ പ്രയോക്താവായ പ്രജാമണ്ഡലം നേതാവു് ഈ പ്രമേയം കൊണ്ടുവരുന്നതിനാധാരമായി ഉന്നയിച്ച രാഷ്ട്രീയാദർശം എത്രതന്നെ സമുന്നതമായിരുന്നാലും ഈ പ്രമേയത്തിൽ കൂട്ടുനില്ക്കുന്നവരുടെ യഥാർത്ഥമായ ലക്ഷ്യവും പ്രജാമണ്ഡലത്തിന്റെ ആദർശവുംതമ്മിൽ ലക്ഷ്യത്തിനോടുത്തര ധ്രുവങ്ങൾപോലെയുള്ള അന്തരമുണ്ടെന്നു് ആക്കാണിക്കേണ്ടതില്ലല്ലോ. പ്രജാമണ്ഡലത്തെമാറ്റി നിർത്തിയാൽ കൊച്ചിയിലെ പൊളിറ്റിക്സിന്റെ അടിയിലെന്താണുള്ളതു്. മൂന്നരകാശിന്റെ സ്ഥാനങ്ങൾക്കും അതിനോടു് പറ്റിച്ചേർന്നുള്ള ആനുകൂല്യാവകാശങ്ങൾക്കും വേണ്ടിയുള്ള ഒരു കടിപിടിമാത്രം. കൊച്ചിയിൽ ഒരു രണ്ടാംമന്ത്രിയെക്കൂടി മഹാരാജാവു് തിരുമനസ്സുകൊണ്ടു് ഭരണപരിഷ്കാരപുരോഗതിയിലേക്കുള്ള രണ്ടാമത്തെ പടിയായി പ്രഖ്യാപനം ചെയ്ത അന്നുതന്നെ, സർ, ഇന്നത്തെ ഈ അവിശ്വാസപ്രമേയത്തിന്റെ ബീജവും ഉരുവിച്ചു. എല്ലാവരുടേയും നോട്ടം അങ്ങോട്ടായി. അതു കിട്ടുന്നതിനുള്ള പ്രത്യേകാവകാശങ്ങൾ ഓരോരുത്തരും ഏതായുകയായി. സമുദായത്തിന്റെ പേരിൽ, ജാതിയുടെ പേരിൽ,ഗ്രൂപ്പിന്റെപേരിൽ ഇങ്ങിനെയെല്ലാം മത്സരമായി. മേഘയുഗത്തിലെ ജംബുകനെപ്പോലെ ഈ മത്സരത്തിൽനിന്നുള്ള മുതലെടുക്കുന്നതിനു് രാഷ്ട്രീയക്കാരന്മാർ അകലെ നോക്കിനില്ക്കുകയാണു്. മത്സരം അവസാനിച്ചു. രണ്ടാം മന്ത്രിസ്ഥാനത്തേക്കു് ആളും വന്നുചേർന്നു. അതോടുകൂടി തുലഭുഖിതർ തമ്മിലുള്ള ഒരു കൂട്ടുകെട്ടു് പൊതു ശത്രുവിനെ, അഥവാ എതിരാളികളെ അടിയറപറയിക്കുന്നതിനുള്ള ഒരു പൊതുലക്ഷ്യത്തെ ആധാരമാക്കി മറുപക്ഷത്തും വന്നുചേർന്നു. നമുക്കെല്ലാം അറിയാം പാലും നീരും പോലെയല്ലാ പാലുംമോരുംപോലെ പി

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രിഞ്ഞുചേരുന്ന ഒരു കൂട്ടുകെട്ടാണിതെന്നു്. എങ്കിലും ലക്ഷ്യത്തിന്റെപേരിൽ ഒരു താല്ക്കാലിക ഐക്യം ഇവർ തമ്മിലുണ്ടായി. ഇവക്കാലോചനയായി,തക്കമായി ആരാണു് പുച്ഛിച്ചു് മണി കെട്ടേണ്ടതെന്നു്. നീ കെട്ടു, അല്ല നീ കെട്ടു എന്നു് പരസ്പരം പിടുകയായി. അതോടൊപ്പം ഈ സാഹസോദ്യമത്തിന്റെ പരമ വിജയത്തെക്കുറിച്ചു് ആശങ്കയുമുണ്ടിവർക്കു്. ഏതിനും പിണിയാളുകളായി ഉപയോഗിപ്പാൻ കൊള്ളുന്നവരായി ഇങ്ങിനെ ഒരു കൂട്ടരെമുമ്പിൽ കണ്ടപ്പോൾ ബുദ്ധിമാന്മാരായ പ്രജാമണ്ഡലംപാട്ടി ഈ സാഹചര്യത്തെ പൂർണ്ണമായും ഉപയോഗിക്കുന്നതിനു് തീച്ചയാക്കി. അവർ അവിശ്വാസ പ്രമേയത്തിനു് നോട്ടീസ്സു് കൊടുത്തു. നമ്മുടെ കൂട്ടുകാർ ഒരു ആശ്വാസനിശ്വാസംചെയ്തു. പ്രജാമണ്ഡലം പാട്ടിക്കു് ഇവിടെ ഒരു രാഷ്ട്രീയസ്ഥംനേമാണുവേണ്ടതു്. എന്നാൽ പ്രജാമണ്ഡലത്തിന്റെ പിണിയാളുകൾക്കു് അതല്ലവേണ്ടതു്. അവരുടെ ലക്ഷ്യംവേറെയാണു്. അതുപകൽപോലെ വിശദവുമാണു്. ഇന്നത്തെ മന്ത്രിമാർ പുറത്തുപോയിക്കാണണം. കുറെയൊക്കെ തങ്ങളും പണ്ടു് അനുഭവിച്ചിട്ടുള്ള ഹൃദയവേദന ഇവരും ഒന്നു് അനുഭവിക്കുന്നതു കണ്ടു് ആശ്വസിക്കണം. പിന്നെവന്ന ചേരുന്ന സാഹചര്യങ്ങളെ ചൂഷണംചെയ്തുകൊണ്ടു് അധികാരത്തിൽ കയറിപ്പറ്റുവാൻ സാധിക്കുമോ എന്ന ഒരു പരാക്രമപാച്ചിൽ നടത്തിനോക്കണം. ഇതുയേയുള്ളു. അല്ലാതെ ഇപ്പോഴത്തെ മന്ത്രിമാരുടെപേരിൽ അത്ര വലിയ ആരോപണങ്ങളൊന്നും കൊണ്ടുവരുവാൻ ആർക്കും സാദ്ധ്യമല്ല. രാഷ്ട്രീയകൌശലങ്ങളിലും നയതന്ത്രങ്ങളിലും പ്രാഥമികപാഠങ്ങൾപോലും അറിയുകയില്ലെന്നു് ഒരു വലിയ ദുഷ്യം ഇന്നത്തെ മന്ത്രിമാരുടെപേരിൻ കൊണ്ടുവരാവുന്നതാണെന്നു് ഞാനും സമ്മതിക്കുന്നു. ഇതിനും പുറമേ മറ്റു ചില ആക്ഷേപങ്ങൾകൂടി ഇവരുടെമേലിൽവരാം. അധികൃതരെ മർദ്ദിക്കുന്നതിനോ അവരെ ദ്രോഹിക്കുന്നതിനോ അവർക്കുള്ളതു് അപഹരിക്കുന്നതിനോ ഇപ്പോഴത്തെ മന്ത്രിമാർ കൂട്ടുനില്ക്കുകയോ ഹേതുക്കളാവുകയോ ചെയ്തിട്ടില്ലെന്നൊരു വലിയ ആക്ഷേപമുണ്ടാകാം. കൂട്ടത്തിലുള്ളവരെല്ലാം എന്തുകൊണ്ടെല്ലാം തെറ്ററിയാലും കയ്യിൽകിട്ടിയ മന്ത്രിസ്ഥാനത്തിനു് ഒരിക്കലും ഇളക്കം സംഭവിക്കാതിരിക്കുന്നതിനുവേണ്ടി Irremoveable Executive വോട്ടോടുകൂടി ഭരണഘടനാ ഭേദഗതി ചെയ്യണമെന്നു് ഇവർക്കും നിവേദനം ചെയ്യാമായിരുന്നു. അതും ഇന്നത്തെ മന്ത്രിമാർ ചെയ്തിട്ടില്ലയെന്നുള്ള ഒരു വലിയ ആക്ഷേപം ഇവിടെപ്പറഞ്ഞുപറയാം. നിയമസഭയിലേയ്ക്കു് ആരെയൊക്കെയാണു് നൊമിനേറ്റു ചെയ്യേണ്ടതെന്നു് സർക്കാരിലേക്കു് ശുപാർശചെയ്യുകയോ ആ ശുപാർശകൾ ശുപാർശകനു് അപകീർത്തി ചേർത്തുകൊണ്ടു് തിരസ്കരിക്കപ്പെടുന്നതിന്നിടയാകുകയോ ഇതുരണ്ടും ഇന്നത്തെമന്ത്രിമാർ ചെയ്തിട്ടില്ലായെന്നുള്ളതും ഒരു വലിയകുറവായിട്ടാണു് ഞാൻ കണുന്നതു്. രാജ്യത്തിന്റെ ഒരുറപ്പുമുതൽ മറ്റേ അറ്റംവരെ അഥവാ പ്രജാമണ്ഡലശൈലിയിൽ പറഞ്ഞാൽ അങ്ങോളമിങ്ങോളം അലതല്ലിയിരുന്ന തൊഴിലാളികളുടെ അസ്വാസ്ഥ്യങ്ങൾക്കു് മുതലാളിമാരെക്കാൾ കൂടുതലായി തൊഴിലാളി നേതാക്കന്മാരുടേയും തൊഴിലാളി പ്രവർത്തകരുടേയും സഹകരണം നേടിക്കൊണ്ടു് അവരുമായി കൂടുതൽ കൂട്ടുനിന്നുകൊണ്ടു് ഈ അസ്വാസ്ഥ്യങ്ങൾ ശമിപ്പിയ്ക്കാനും തൊഴിലാളിമുതലാളിതാല്പര്യങ്ങളുടെ പ്രതിനിധികളോടു് ശാശ്വതമായ വ്യവസായസമാധാന മാർഗ്ഗങ്ങൾ നിർദ്ദേശിക്കുവാൻ ആവശ്യപ്പെടുവാനും തൊഴിലാളി മന്ത്രിമുതിർന്നു. അതും വലിയൊരു അപരാധമായിപ്പോയി. അരുപറഞ്ഞു മന്ത്രിയോടു ഇതൊക്കെ ശമിപ്പിക്കുവാൻ? മറുപക്ഷത്തിരിക്കുന്നവർ ഇവിടെ വന്നിരിക്കുന്നതുവരെ നിവാരണമാർഗ്ഗം കാണാതെ നീണ്ടുനില്ക്കേണ്ടിയിരുന്ന കാര്യങ്ങളല്ലേ ഇതു്? അതിനും മന്ത്രിയെ കുറ്റപ്പെടുത്തേണ്ടതാണു്. ഫെറി ടാൻസ്പോർട്ടു് തൊഴിലാളികൾക്കു് വേതനങ്ങളും ആനുകൂല്യങ്ങളും വർദ്ധിപ്പിക്കുന്നതിനുവേണ്ടി കടത്തുകൂലി കൂട്ടുവാൻ മാനേജ്മെൻറിനോടൊപ്പം പ്രജാമണ്ഡലത്തിന്റെ നിയന്ത്രണത്തിലുള്ള അവരുടെ തൊഴിലാളി യൂണിയൻ സമ്മതിച്ചാലും പാവപ്പെട്ടവരുടെ രക്ഷാകർത്തൃത്വം മുഴുവൻ സ്വയം ഏറ്റെടുത്തിട്ടുള്ള തൊഴിലാളി മെമ്പറോടു ചോദിയ്ക്കാതെ മന്ത്രി അതിനു് കൂട്ടുനില്ക്കാമായിരുന്നോ? പ്രജാമണ്ഡലത്തെ പ്രീണിപ്പിക്കുന്നതിനുവേണ്ടിയല്ലേ മന്ത്രിയങ്ങിനെ ശ്രമിച്ചതു്? തൊഴിലാളികളുടെ വഴക്കും വയ്യാവേലിയും ഒക്കെ മുഴുവനും തീക്കുന്നതിനു് മന്ത്രി ദീർഘദൃഷ്ടിയോടെ പ്രവർത്തിക്കുന്നതിന്റെ ലക്ഷ്യം തൊഴിലാളിനേതാക്കന്മാരോടു് കാണിക്കുന്ന ഒരു വലിയ അനീതിയല്ലെ? ഇതിനുമുമ്പു വന്ന മന്ത്രിമാരൊക്കെ സൌകര്യംപോലെ നീട്ടിക്കൊണ്ടുപോയിരുന്ന മത്സ്യവകുപ്പു പരിഷ്കാരമൊക്കെ ഇത്ര പെട്ടെന്നു് നടപ്പിൽ വരുത്തിയതുമൂലവും ആ സമുദായത്തിന്റെ So-called നേതാക്കളോടു് വലിയ അപരാധമല്ലേ പൊതുജനാരോഗ്യമന്ത്രി ചെയ്തതു്? സമുദായപ്രീതിനിരപേക്ഷതപമനസരിച്ചാണെങ്കിൽ കാലൊ, അരയോ സ്ഥാനംപോലും കിട്ടുവാൻ അർഹതയില്ലാ

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ത്ത ഒരു സമുദായത്തിൽനിന്നും ഫിഷറി അദ്ധ്യാപകന്മാരുടെ ടെയിനിങ്ങിനു് നു പേരിൽ നാലുപേരെ തിരഞ്ഞെടുത്തതും കടുത്ത അനീതിയല്ലേ? ആ അനീതി ആ സമുദായം മറക്കുമെന്നാണോ മന്ത്രി വിചാരിക്കുന്നതു്? നേതൃത്വമേ! കൃതഘ്നതയെന്നാണു് നിന്റെ പേരു്.

സർ, ഈ മന്ത്രിമാർ ഭരണഘടനയെ മുമ്പോട്ട കൊണ്ടുപോയിട്ടില്ലായെന്നാണല്ലോ ആക്ഷേപം. ശരിയാണെന്നാണല്ലോ തോന്നുന്നതു്. പട്ടാളത്തിൽ ആളെ ചേർക്കുന്നതിനും ബ്രിട്ടീഷുകാരുടെ പട്ടാളസേവനപ്രചരണത്തൊത്തും വഹിക്കുന്നതിനുമായി ഇവിടെയുണ്ടായ ദേശീയ സമരനിരയിൽ ലീഡർസ്ഥാനം വഹിച്ചിട്ടോ, ഡിവിഷൻ ഓർഗനൈസർസ്ഥാനം സ്വീകരിച്ചിട്ടോ എങ്ങിനെയെങ്കിലും ഈ ഭരണഘടനയെ ഒരിഞ്ചു് മുന്നോട്ട കൊണ്ടുപോകുമായിരുന്നില്ലേ ഇവർക്കു്? അതിവർ ചെയ്തോ? ആ കാര്യത്തിൽ ഒരു ചെറുവിരൽ ഇവർ അനക്കിയിരുന്നെങ്കിൽ, പ്രജാമണ്ഡലം പാർട്ടി ലീഡർ ഹജൂർജെട്ടിയിൽ പ്രസംഗിച്ചതുപോലെ പാലക്കാട്ടെ അശോകപാക്കരകാരൻ—ഗ്രണ്ടപ്പ നായിഡുവിനും പൊതിപ്പുകയിലക്കാരൻ മേഘനാഥൻ ചെട്ടിയാർക്കും, മമ്മു സ്രാങ്കിനുപോലും കിട്ടിയ റാവുബഹദൂർ സ്ഥാനമോ, റാവു സാഹിബു് സ്ഥാനമോ എങ്കിലും ഒരെണ്ണം ഇവർക്കും കരസ്ഥമാക്കി ഭരണഘടനാ പുരോഗമനത്തിനു് സഹായിച്ചതിനുള്ള സർട്ടിഫിക്കറായി ഇവിടെ ഇപ്പോൾ ഹാജരാക്കാമായിരുന്നില്ലേ? ഇതിനെപ്പറ്റി ബഹുമാനപ്പെട്ട പഴയന്നൂർ മെമ്പറോ, ബഹുമാനപ്പെട്ട കണയന്നൂർ ഈഴവ മെമ്പറോ ചോദ്യം ചെയ്താൽ എന്തു മറുപടിയാണുള്ളതു്.

സർ, ഉത്തരവാദഭരണം കിട്ടുന്നതിനു് എന്തും ചെയ്യുന്നതിനു് തയ്യാറാകണം. അങ്ങേപ്പുറത്തു നില്ക്കുന്ന കൊടിമരത്തിന്റെ മുകളിൽ കയറി കീഴോട്ട ചാടണമെന്നു പറഞ്ഞാൽ ഉടൻ ചാടിക്കൊള്ളണം. കണ്ടിട്ടില്ലേ മറുള്ളവർ ചാടി മരണം മറിയുന്നതു്. നിങ്ങളിങ്ങനെ ചാടുവാൻ തയ്യാറില്ലെങ്കിൽ അതുതന്നെ തെളിവല്ലേ നിങ്ങൾക്കുത്തരവാദഭരണത്തിന്നാഗ്രഹമില്ലെന്നു്. സർ, നമ്മുടെ രാഷ്ട്രീയജീവിതത്തിൽ പ്രകടനത്തിനല്ലാതെ ആത്മാർത്ഥതയ്ക്കു സ്ഥാനമില്ലെന്നാണോ? അയിക്കൊള്ളട്ടെ. പ്രജാമണ്ഡലത്തിന്റെ നേതാക്കന്മാരും കണയന്നൂർ ഈഴവ മെമ്പറും ഈ മന്ത്രിസ്ഥാനത്തു വന്നുകാണുവാൻ എനിക്കു വളരെ ആഗ്രഹമുണ്ടു്. പഴയന്നൂർ മെമ്പറുടെ ഭരണമൊക്കെ നമ്മൾ കണ്ടതാണു്. അതിൽ ഇനി പുതുമയൊന്നുമില്ല. മൈതാനപ്രസംഗംപോലെതന്നെ മന്ത്രിസ്ഥാനഭരണവും ഒരുപോലെ ഇവർക്കു് സാധിക്കുമായിരിക്കണം എന്നാണു് എന്റെ വിശ്വാസം. അങ്ങിനെ വന്നാൽ കൊച്ചിയിൽ ചെവിതല കേട്ടു് ഇരിക്കാമല്ലൊ എന്നൊരു ആശ്വാസവുമുണ്ടായിരുന്നു.

സർ, മൂന്നാമതൊരു മന്ത്രിയെക്കൂടി തന്നില്ലെന്നു് കഴിഞ്ഞ ദിവസം ഒരു പരാതി ഇവിടെ പറഞ്ഞുകേട്ടു. എങ്ങിനെയാണു് സർ, ഒരു മന്ത്രിയെക്കൂടി തരുന്നതു്? കേട്ടില്ലേ മഹാരാജാവു തിരുമേനി പ്രസ്താവിച്ചതു് "കഠിനമായ നൈരാശ്യത്തോടുകൂടിയാണു് ഞാൻ കൊച്ചിയിലെ പാർട്ടി പൊളിറ്റിക്സു് അഭിവീക്ഷണം ചെയ്യുന്നതു്. നിയമസഭാ മെമ്പർമാർ ഞൊടിയിടയിൽ പാർട്ടി മാറുന്നതു് രാഷ്ട്രീയശിക്ഷണത്തിന്റെ അഭാവത്തേയും വ്യവസ്ഥയില്ലായ്മയേയുമാണു് കാണിക്കുന്നതു്. ഇതു് ഭാവിശ്രേയഃപ്രതിഭനശകനമാണെന്നു് തോന്നുന്നില്ല" എന്നാണു് തിരുമനസ്സുകൊണ്ടു് അരുളിച്ചെയ്തിരിക്കുന്നതു്. എത്രനല്ല സർട്ടിഫിക്കറാണു് സർ, നമ്മുടെ ഹനുമാൻ ചാട്ടക്കാരനായ എം. എൽ. സി. മാക്കു് കിട്ടിയിരിക്കുന്നതു്. അര മന്ത്രിമാക്കുവേണ്ടി കെഞ്ചിച്ചുപോകുന്ന ഈ ബഹുമാനപ്പെട്ട മെമ്പറന്മാരാണു് പരിപൂർണ്ണ ഉത്തരവാദഭരണത്തിൽ കുറഞ്ഞ യാതൊന്നുകൊണ്ടും തങ്ങൾ തൃപ്തിപ്പെടുകയില്ലെന്നു് പെരുമ്പറമുഴക്കുന്നതു്. വിധിവൈപരീത്യമെന്നല്ലാതെ എന്തു പറയട്ടെ. ഇവർക്കതന്നെയാണു് സർ, ഉത്തരവാദഭരണം നല്ലുണ്ടതു്. കൊച്ചിയിലെ ഉത്തരവാദഭരണത്തിന്റേയും അ

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തേറാടുക്കുവാനുള്ള ആളുകളുടേയും സ്ഥിതിയിതാണെങ്കിൽ പട്ടണങ്ങളിലെ High Politics ഒന്നും നിശ്ചയമില്ലാത്ത ഗ്രാമീണനായ എനിക്കു തോന്നുന്നതു് മഹാരാജാവും ദിവാൻജിയും ഒക്കെ കൂടി ഭരിച്ചാൽ മതിയെന്നാണു്. ഒന്നുമില്ലെങ്കിൽ ഒരു നേരും നെറിവുമെങ്കിലും കാണുമല്ലൊ.

സർ, ഞാൻ അധികം പറയുന്നില്ല. ഈമാതിരി അവിശ്വാസപ്രമേയങ്ങളും ഇവിടത്തെ പാട്ടി നിലകളും പൊട്ട നേതൃത്വങ്ങളും ഒക്കെ നാമെല്ലാം അഭികാമ്യമായി കരുതുന്ന അത്ര സുന്ദരമായ ആ രാഷ്ട്രീയലക്ഷ്യത്തിലേക്കല്ലാ നമ്മെ എത്തിക്കുന്നതു്. അല്പത്വം വെടിഞ്ഞു വ്യക്തിവിദ്വേഷവും വൈരാഗ്യബുദ്ധിയും അകറ്റി പൊതുവിലുള്ള രാജ്യശ്രേയസ്സിനു വേണ്ടി ഉത്തരവാദബോധത്തോടുകൂടി മുന്നോട്ടു നീങ്ങുവാൻ ജനപ്രതിനിധിവേഷം കെട്ടി ഇവിടെ വന്നിട്ടുള്ളവർ എന്നു മുതിരുന്നുവോ അന്നേ കൊച്ചിയുടെ രാഷ്ട്രീയകൈവല്യം കൈവരൂ.

ഉത്തരവാദിത്വഭരണം ജനങ്ങൾക്കു് നൽകുവാൻ തയ്യാറാണെന്നു് ഒന്നാമതായി പ്രഖ്യാപിച്ചു നാട്ടുരാജ്യഭരണാധികാരി ഒരു കൊച്ചി മഹാരാജാവു തിരുമനസ്സുകൊണ്ടാണല്ലൊ. അവിടത്തെ യഥാർത്ഥാനുഗാമിയായി ഇപ്പോൾ രാജ്യം ഭരിക്കുന്ന മഹാരാജാവു് തിരുമനസ്സുകൊണ്ടു് കൊച്ചിയിലെ ജനങ്ങൾ അഭിലഷിക്കുന്നപോലെയുള്ള ഒരു ഭരണം നല്കുവാൻ തയ്യാറാണെന്നും ഏതാണ്ടു് നമ്മെ മനസ്സിലാക്കികഴിഞ്ഞു. അങ്ങിനെയുള്ള ഒരു തിരുമേനിയുടെ മഹനീയമായ സന്ദേശം ശ്രവിക്കുവാൻ അതീവ ആകാംക്ഷയോടെ മന്ത്രിമാരും ഞങ്ങളും ഈ സഭയിൽ അന്നു് ഹാജരായതു് വലിയൊരപരാധമായിയെന്നു് ഞങ്ങൾ സമ്മതിക്കുന്നു. സർ, ഏറ്റവും നിർഭാഗ്യകരമായ ഒരു സന്ദർഭം ഞങ്ങൾ ഉണ്ടാക്കാഞ്ഞതിൽ എത്രയെങ്കിലും ഞങ്ങളെ കുറ്റപ്പെടുത്തിക്കൊള്ളട്ടെ. തിരുമനസ്സുകൊണ്ടു് കല്പിച്ചയച്ച ആ സന്ദേശം വായിച്ചു കേട്ടതിനുശേഷം ഉടനെതന്നെ ഈ സഭ വിട്ടിറങ്ങിപ്പോകുവാനുള്ള മനഃസ്ഥിതിയും ഞങ്ങൾക്കുണ്ടാകാഞ്ഞതും കഷ്ടമായിപ്പോയത്രെ. അത്ര ഹൃദയശൂന്യതയുള്ളവരല്ല, അത്ര നന്ദികെട്ടവരല്ല മന്ത്രിമാരും അവരുടെ പാട്ടിയും എന്നു മാത്രമേ എനിക്കു പറയുവാനുള്ളൂ. സർ, മഹാരാജാവു തിരുമനസ്സുകൊണ്ടു് അന്നു് ഈ സഭയിലേയ്ക്കു് കല്പിച്ചയച്ച സന്ദേശം കൊച്ചിയുടെ ഭരണപരിഷ്കാരപുരോഗതിയിൽ വലിയ പരിവർത്തനമാണു് വിഭാവനം ചെയ്യിരിക്കുന്നതെന്നു് കണ്ടതുകൊണ്ടു മാത്രമാണു് ഞങ്ങൾ അവിടെത്തന്നെ ഉറച്ചിരിക്കുവാൻ കാരണമായതു്. ഞങ്ങളുടെ അവിടത്തെ ഉറച്ചിരിപ്പുകൊണ്ടു് യാതൊരു സാദ്ധ്യതയും ഇല്ലെന്നു ഞങ്ങൾ കണ്ടു എങ്കിൽ ഈ നിയമസഭാസാമാജികസ്ഥാനംതന്നെ വലിച്ചെറിഞ്ഞുകൊണ്ടു് പോകുവാൻ ഞങ്ങൾ ഒരുങ്ങുമായിരുന്നു. എതായാലും പ്രജാമണ്ഡലം നേതാവിനോടു് ഈയവസരത്തിൽ ഇങ്ങിനെയുള്ള ഒരു പ്രസ്താവം പ്രസ്സു് ചെയ്യരുതെന്നു അപേക്ഷിച്ചുകൊണ്ടു് ഞാൻ വിരമിച്ചുകൊള്ളുന്നു.

മിസ്റ്റർ ജോസു് കെ. വട്ടിസ്സു്: മിസ്റ്റർ പ്രഡിഡണ്ടു്, സർ, ഇന്നത്തെ അവിശ്വാസപ്രമേയാവതരണത്തിനു കാരണമാക്കിട്ടുള്ള സംഗതികളും, അതിനു ഞാൻ ഉൾപ്പെട്ടുന്ന നാഷനലിസ്റ്റു് കക്ഷിയുടെ നേതാക്കന്മാരായ മന്ത്രിമാർ എത്രത്തോളം കാരണക്കാരാണെന്നും ഉള്ള വിവരം, അവതരിപ്പിച്ച കക്ഷിയിലേയും അനുകൂലിച്ച കക്ഷികളിലേയും ന്യായബോധമുള്ള അംഗങ്ങൾക്കു് അറിയാവുന്നതാണു്. മഹാരാജാവു് തിരുമനസ്സുകൊണ്ടു് ഈ സമ്മേളനം ആരംഭിച്ച ദിവസം നമുക്കയച്ച സന്ദേശം ശ്രദ്ധിച്ചുകേൾപ്പാൻ ഭാഗ്യമുണ്ടായ എനിക്കും നമ്മുടെ ഈ ആറാമത്തെ നിയമസഭയുടെ അംഗങ്ങളാകാൻ നിർഭാഗ്യമുണ്ടായ എന്റെ കൂട്ടുകാരിൽ പലർക്കും ഇന്നത്തെ സഭയിലെ അംഗങ്ങളുടെ ഇടയിലുള്ള ചേരിചേരലിലും

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പിരിയലിലും, അവരുടെ വാശ്വാനങ്ങൾക്കും ഒപ്പുകൊടുക്കുപോലും വിലയില്ലാതെ വന്നതിലും അത്ഭുതംതന്നെയല്ല, ലജ്ജതന്നെ തോന്നിപ്പോകുന്നുണ്ട്.

ഞാൻ ഉൾപ്പെടുന്ന കക്ഷിയിലെ നേതാവായ ശ്രീ. ലോനപ്പന്റെ മന്ത്രിസ്ഥാനത്തെ പിൻതാങ്ങാൻ കടലാസ്സിൽ സഭമനസ്സാലെ ഒപ്പിട്ടിട്ടുള്ള സവ്വകലാശാലാബിരുദധാരികളും അല്ലാത്തവരുമായ പലരേയും എതുവശത്തു് ഞാനിന്നു കാണുന്നുണ്ടു്. അഭിപ്രായം "ഇരുമുലക്കയല്ല" എന്നു് ഒരിക്കൽ ഞാൻ തിരുവിതാംകൂറിലെ ഒരു ഈഴവ ദിനപത്രത്തിൽ വായിച്ചിട്ടുണ്ടു്. അതു് ശരിയൊ തെറ്റൊ എന്നു് ഞാൻ പ്രതിപാദിക്കുന്നില്ല.

ശ്രീ. പറമ്പി ലോനപ്പന്റെ മന്ത്രിസ്ഥാനത്തിനു ദോഷം വരുന്നതായ യാതൊരു സംഗതിയിലും താൻ സഹകരിക്കയില്ലെന്നു്, എന്റെ ഡ്രായിംഗ്‌റൂമിൽ ഉള്ള യേശുക്രിസ്തുവിന്റെ പടത്തെ നോക്കിക്കൊണ്ടും Air Force-ൽ Piolet ആയ തന്റെ മകന്റെ തലയിൽ കൈവെച്ചുകൊണ്ടും എന്റെ സ്നേഹിതനായ കോമേഴ്സു് മെമ്പർ സാക്ഷിയാക്കെ സത്യപ്രതിജ്ഞചെയ്ത ഒരു മെമ്പർ എതുവശത്തു സജീവമായി "പറമ്പി ലോനപ്പന്റെ മന്ത്രിസ്ഥാന"ത്തിനു് ദോഷം ചെയ്യാൻ അരയും തലയും മുറുക്കിയിരിക്കുന്നതായിക്കാണുന്നതും എനിക്കു ഒരു പുതിയ അനുഭവമാണു്. തെമ്മാടികളേയും. കള്ളുകുടിയന്മാരേയും, കള്ളന്മാരേയും, വഷളന്മാരേയും ഞാൻ കണ്ടിട്ടുണ്ടു്. പരിചയിച്ചിട്ടുണ്ടു്, അവരെയൊക്കെ സഹിക്കാനും ക്ഷമിക്കാനും എനിക്കു കഴിയും; കഴിഞ്ഞിട്ടുമുണ്ടു്. ഞാൻ ഒരു പ്രാക്ടറിക്കൽ പോളിറ്റീഷൻ അല്ല. അതുകൊണ്ടും അഭിപ്രായം ഇരുമുലക്കയല്ലെങ്കിലും റബ്ബർ നാടയാക്കാതെ ജീവിച്ചിട്ടുള്ള പൂവ്വികന്മാരുടെ നേരും നെറിയുമുള്ള രക്തം എന്റെ സിരകളിൽ ഓടുന്നതിനാലും, ഈ സഭയിലെ എതുവശത്തു ഇരുപ്പുകൊള്ളുന്ന രാഷ്ട്രീയ കുന്ത്രാണ്ടന്മാർ—അല്ല, അല്ല—"തന്ത്രജ്ഞന്മാർ" എന്നു പറയപ്പെടുന്നവരെക്കുറിച്ചു് അഥവാ ഈ കൊച്ചുകൊച്ചിയിലെ ഫർ½ ലക്ഷത്തിന്റെ ക്ഷേമാന്വേഷണത്തിനു ഇന്നൊ നാളേയൊ ഉത്തരവാദപ്പെടുവാനിരിക്കുന്ന മഹാരഥന്മാരായ "ജനകീയമന്ത്രി"മാരാകാൻ കോപ്പിട്ടിരിക്കുന്ന മഹാനുഭാവന്മാരെപ്പറ്റി എനിക്കു ലജ്ജയും വ്യസനവും തോന്നുന്നു.

ഇന്നത്തെ സോഷ്യലിസ്റ്റു കക്ഷിനേതാവും അദ്ദേഹത്തിന്റെ അനുയായികളായി ഇപ്പോൾ ഈ സഭയിലെ അംഗങ്ങളായിരിക്കുന്നവരുമായ എന്റെ സ്നേഹിതന്മാർ ഫ ഫ ഫ നൂറ്റിചില്വാനം ഒന്നാം തിയ്യതിയിലെ ഗസറ്റിൽ ഒന്നാം ഭാഗത്തിൽ പതിനാറാം നമ്പ്രു് പരസ്യത്തിൽ പ്രസിദ്ധപ്പെടുത്തീട്ടുള്ള ആ കുപ്രസിദ്ധമായ ഹജ്ജിയിൽ ഒപ്പിട്ടിട്ടില്ലാത്തവരാണു്. ഞാൻ ഉൾപ്പെടുന്ന കക്ഷി ഫ ഫ ഫ ൦ മിഥുനമാസത്തിൽ രൂപീകൃതമായ അവസരത്തിൽ ആ കക്ഷിയിൽ ചേർന്നതായ യാതൊരു മെമ്പറും അന്നത്തെ ആ രാഷ്ട്രീയ കൊലപാതകത്തിൽ പങ്കെടുത്തിട്ടില്ലാത്തവരാണെന്നു എനിക്കു് സമാധാനമുണ്ടായിരുന്നു. അന്നതിൽ ഒപ്പുവെയ്ക്കുന്നിമിത്തം ഉഷ്ണീത്തിമുദ്രയായി ഓരോ തുരുമ്പുപിടിച്ച ബ്ലേഡ് ലഭിക്കുവാൻ ഭാഗ്യമുണ്ടായ അന്നത്തെ ഫ ൻ പേരുകളും ആ നിയമസഭയുടെ കാലാവുധി നീട്ടാൻ ആ ഭീരുക്കൾ കൊടുത്ത ഹർജ്ജിയും ഞാൻ വായിക്കാം.

Mr. President: Will the Hon'ble Member explain how this is exactly relevant to the present motion?

Mr. P. Kumaran Ezhuthassan *(Vadakkancheri):* Sir, he is speaking about the contents of the petition.

Mr. President: How is that relevant ?

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Mr. Jos K. Verghese *(Trichur-South):* Some of the members of that party have signed in this petition which they sent to the Government.....

Mr. President: Well, what of that?

Mr. M. Sivarama Menon *(Advocate-General):* Sir, there are certain personal observations against some Hon'ble Members who are not in this House. Such personal reflections should not be allowed to be made.

Mr. President: I again ask the Hon'ble Member to confine himself to the purport of the motion which is now under discussion.

മിസ്റ്റർ ജോസ് കെ. വർഗ്ഗീസ്: ഇന്നത്തെ സോഷ്യലിസ്റ്റ് കക്ഷി നേതാവിനെ ഡെപ്യൂട്ടി പ്രസിഡണ്ട് സ്ഥാനത്തുനിന്ന് ബഹിഷ്കരിക്കുവാൻ ഇപ്പോഴത്തെ progressive കക്ഷി നേതാവും അനുയായികളുംകൂടി നടത്തിയ പരിശ്രമത്തിൽനിന്നു തന്നെ രക്ഷിക്കുന്നതിൽ തന്റെ അളിയനൊന്നിച്ചു എന്റെ വീട്ടിൽവന്നു പോട്ടിക്കോയിൽ ഇരുന്നു വാവിട്ടു നിലവിളിച്ചു അവസരത്തിൽ അദ്ദേഹത്തിന്നനുകൂലമായി നിയമസഭക്കു പുറത്തിരുന്നകാലത്തു ഞാൻ എന്റെ ചെറുവിരൽ, അല്ല എന്റെ പത്തു വിരലുകളും ഉയത്തി എന്റെ സമയവും പണവും ചിലവുചെയ്തു ഇവിടത്തോളം ഈ ഹാളിലേക്കുതന്നെ വന്നതും എല്ലാം അദ്ദേഹം ഇപ്പോൾ മറന്നിട്ടാണെന്നു തോന്നുന്നു, ഏതു കൈകൾ ഇഞ്ചത്തലപോലെ തന്റെ തല ചതയ്ക്കുവാൻ ശ്രമിച്ചുവൊ ആ കൈകളെ ചുംബിക്കുവാൻ തൃശ്ശിവപേരൂർ വൃന്ദാവനത്തിന്നു സമീപമുള്ള ധീവരശിരോമണിയുടെ വസതിയിൽ പോയി തന്റെ സമുദായനേതൃത്വം ഇപ്പോഴത്തെ പുരോഗമനകക്ഷി നേതാവിനു അടിയറവെച്ചതു. ഭയങ്കരം! —അതിദയനീയം!

നമ്മുടെ രാഷ്ട്രീയബോധത്തിന്റെ അധഃപതനം അതിഭയങ്കരമെന്നേ പറയാവൂ. മേൽ പറഞ്ഞ കൂപ്രസിദ്ധ ഹർജിയിലെ ഒന്നാം ഒപ്പുകാരനാണ് ഇപ്പോഴത്തെ നെല്ലായി മെമ്പർ.

ഇന്നാത്തെ ഈ അവിശ്വാസപ്രമേയ സംരംഭങ്ങളുടെ നേതൃത്വത്തിന്റെ ഉത്തരവസ്ഥാനത്തെപ്പറ്റി എതിർവശത്തുള്ള സത്യസന്ധരും ന്യായബോധമുള്ളവരുമായ എന്റെ സ്നേഹിതന്മാർ ഗൗരവമായി ധരിക്കേണ്ടതാണു്. നാം ഇന്നു ആരെ പ്രതിനിധീകരിക്കുന്നുവൊ, ആ പൊതുരാവലിയുടെ ഭരണാധികാരികളെ അവരുടെ കുറ്റംകൊണ്ടല്ലാതെ നാം നീക്കം ചെയ്യുമ്പോൾ അതുടനെയൊക്കെ കയ്യിലേക്കാണു നാം ഭരണം ഏല്പിക്കുവാൻ പോകുന്നതെന്നു നാം നല്ലവണ്ണം ആലോചിക്കേണ്ടതുമാണു. നമ്മുടെ കൂപ്രസിദ്ധ ഹർജിക്കാർ ചെയ്തതെന്താണു? പൊതുജനങ്ങളെ കളിപ്പിച്ചു, സഭാകാര്യത്തിൽ വഞ്ചിച്ചു, അന്നത്തെ ഗവണ്മെണ്ടുമായി കൂട്ടുപിടിച്ചു ഞങ്ങൾ യുദ്ധത്തിന്റെ പേരിൽ ഗവണ്മേണ്ടു സഹായികളാണു, അടുത്ത കൊല്ലം കൂടിഞങ്ങളെ ഈ കൌൺസിലിലേക്കു നോമിനേറ്റു ചെയ്യണമേ എന്നായിരുന്നു അവരുടെ അപേക്ഷ. ആ പരമദയനീയമായ അപേക്ഷയെ ഗവണ്മെണ്ടു് അനുവദിച്ചു. ഹർജിക്കാരെ ചാക്കിലാക്കി കെട്ടി തല്ലി തൊലികളയുന്ന വിധത്തിൽ ഹർജിതന്നെ ഹർജിക്കാരുടെ പേരോടുകൂടി ഗവണ്മെണ്ടു് പ്രസിദ്ധപ്പെടുത്തി. ഭാവി തലമുറയ്ക്കെങ്കിലും ബുദ്ധിതോന്നി ഇവരുടെ നേതാജിത്വം വലിച്ചെറിയുമായിരിക്കും എന്നു ഞാൻ വിശ്വസിക്കുന്നു. ഞങ്ങൾ പരിപൂർണ്ണ ഉത്തരവാദിത്വഭരണത്തിന്നനുകൂലികളാണു. പക്ഷെ ഇത്തരക്കാരെക്കൊണ്ടുള്ളതാണു് ആ ഉത്തരവാദിത്വഭരണമെങ്കിൽ അതിനേറെക്കു വലിയ ഭയവുമുണ്ടു.

പ്രായപൂർത്തിവോട്ടവകാശത്തിന്മേൽ തിരഞ്ഞെടുക്കപ്പെടുന്ന ഒരു നിയമസഭക്കു പരിപൂർണ്ണഉത്തരവാദിത്വഭരണം ലഭിക്കുന്നതുവരെ ക ക ക സ-ലെ ഭരണഘടനക്കു സ്ഥിരം വരുത്തണമെന്നും മഹനീയമായ മന്ത്രിസ്ഥാനത്തേക്കു സത്യവും നീതിയും പുലർത്താൻ മനഃസ്ഥിതിയുള്ളവർ തിരഞ്ഞെടുക്കപ്പെടണമെന്നും ആണു് ഞാൻ ആഗ്രഹിക്കുന്നതു. ഞങ്ങളുടെ നേതാക്കന്മാരായ ബഹുമാനപ്പെട്ട മന്ത്രിമാർ രണ്ടുപേരേയും ഇന്നും എന്നും ഞങ്ങൾ ബഹുമാനിക്കും. അവരൊടൊന്നിച്ചു തോല്ക്കുന്നതിനു് ഇടവന്നാൽതന്നെയും അതു ഞങ്ങളഭിമാനമായിട്ടേ കരുതുകയുള്ളൂ. നീതിവിരുദ്ധമായ യാതൊരു കാര്യത്തിലും ഞങ്ങൾക്കു് അവരുമായി സഹകരി

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ക്കുവാൻ ഇടവന്നിട്ടില്ല. അവരുടേയും ഞങ്ങളുടേയും പ്രാപ്തിക്കുറവുകൊണ്ടു വല്ല വീഴ്ചകളും വന്നിട്ടുണ്ടാകാം. ഞങ്ങളുടെ കക്ഷിയും ഞങ്ങളുടെ മന്ത്രിമാരും ഇന്നു് അധികാരം ഒഴിഞ്ഞു പോകയാണെങ്കിൽ വ്യക്തിപരമായി യാതൊരു പരാതിയും എതുകക്ഷിയിൽ ഉള്ളതും പറയുകയില്ല. ഒന്നാമത്തെ മന്ത്രി എന്റെ സമുദായക്കാരനായതുകൊണ്ടു ഞാൻ അദ്ദേഹത്തെക്കുറിച്ചു് ഈ ഘട്ടത്തിൽ ഒന്നും പറയുവാൻ ഉദ്ദേശിക്കുന്നില്ല. ഡെവലപ്പ്മെന്റ് മിനിസ്റ്റരുടെ നിയമനംകൊണ്ടാണല്ലൊ, നമുക്കു ബഹദൂർ—സാഹിബു് പാട്ടി രൂപീകരണം കാണ്മാൻ ഇടയായതു്. പക്ഷെ ഞങ്ങളുടെ കക്ഷി ഭരണാധികാരം വെടിഞ്ഞാലും അദ്ദേഹത്തിന്റെ നിയമനം ഞങ്ങൾക്കും ഈ രാജ്യത്തിനും വളരെ അഭിമാനത്തിനു വക നല്കീട്ടുണ്ടു് എന്നു് ഈ അവസരത്തിൽ സന്തോഷത്തോടും ഹർഷത്തോടും കൂടി എനിക്കു പ്രഖ്യാപിക്കാൻ ധൈര്യമുണ്ടു്. ഞങ്ങളുടെ നേതാക്കന്മാരായ മന്ത്രിമാക്കു് എതിരായി അവരെ ബഹുമാനമുള്ളവർ പോലും മനോവശത്തിരുന്നു വോട്ടു ചെയ്യുന്നുണ്ടു്. അതിനു അവരുടെ കക്ഷിതാല്പര്യവും നേതൃതാല്പര്യവുമാണു് കാരണം. ഈ കക്ഷിതാല്പര്യവും നേതൃതാല്പര്യവും ഏതു തരത്തിലുള്ളവയാണെന്നു ഈ സഭ വഴി കൊച്ചിയിലെ പൊതുജനങ്ങളെ ഒന്നുകൂടി ധരിപ്പിക്കുവാൻ ഒരവസരം നൽകിയതിനു് ഈ അവിശ്വാസപ്രമേയാവതാരകനോടുള്ള എന്റെ നന്ദിയെ രേഖപ്പെടുത്തിക്കൊള്ളുന്നു. ബഹുമാനപ്പെട്ട മന്ത്രിമാരെ, നിങ്ങൾ സിമൻറ് ബ്ലാക്കു് മാർക്കറ്റ് ചെയ്യുകയൊ, ചെയ്യിക്കയൊ, ഫുഡ് അഡൾട്രേഷൻ കേസ്സുകൾ പിൻവലിപ്പിക്കയൊ, വിരോധികളെ ഉപദ്രവിച്ചു വീട്ടിലേക്കു റോഡുണ്ടാക്കുകയൊ ചെയ്തതായി കൈക്കൂലിക്കമ്മീഷന്റെ മുമ്പിൽ തെളിയേണ്ടിവരികയില്ല. നിങ്ങൾ പുതിയതായി സ്വന്തം നെല്ലുകുത്തുകമ്പനികൾ ഉണ്ടാക്കീട്ടില്ല. ടെൻഡർ ഇല്ലാതെ സർക്കാർ പണി ചിലരുകൊടുത്തിട്ടില്ല. നെല്ലിയാമ്പതി കൃഷിത്തോട്ടം, മലേറിയാ വിനാശകപ്രവർത്തികൾ, ഒലിച്ചുചിറ മുതലായ വലിയ വലിയ പദ്ധതികൾ നിങ്ങൾ പ്രവർത്തിപ്പിച്ചിട്ടില്ലെന്നുള്ളതു് നിങ്ങളുടെ ഭരണത്തിനു മാറുകൂട്ടുകയേയുള്ളു. നിങ്ങളുടെ ബഹിഷ്കരണത്തിനു കാരണമായ ചില നേതാക്കളുടെ രാഷ്ട്രീയചരിത്രം ഞാൻ ചിത്രീകരിച്ച വിധത്തിലാണല്ലൊ. നിങ്ങളുടെ പരസ്യവും രഹസ്യവുമായ ജീവിതത്തിൽ സാക്ഷാൽ ജഗദീശ്വരന്റേയും മനുഷ്യരുടേയും മുമ്പിൽ നിങ്ങൾ കുറക്കാരാകാതിരിപ്പാൻ ശ്രമിച്ചിട്ടുള്ളതിനു നിങ്ങളുടെ അനുയായികളായ ഞങ്ങളിൽ ചിലരുടെയൊക്കെ നമസ്കാരവും കൃതജ്ഞതയും സ്വീകരിച്ചാലും.

അവസാനമായി ഈ നിയമസഭയിലെ എതുവശത്തെ അംഗങ്ങളിൽ സത്യവും നീതിയും ഇഷ്ടപ്പെടുന്നവരോടുള്ള എന്റെ വിനീതമായ അഭ്യർത്ഥന ഈ അവിശ്വാസപ്രമേയം പിൻവലിക്കാൻ നിങ്ങളുടെ ധാർമ്മികശക്തി നിങ്ങൾ ഉപയോഗിക്കണമെന്നു മാത്രമാണു്.

മിസ്റ്റർ ടി. കെ. എൽ. കുഞ്ഞുവറിയ്: മിസ്റ്റർ പ്രസിഡണ്ടു്, സർ, നമ്മുടെ മന്ത്രിമാർ അവക്കു് അനുവദിച്ചു് കൊടുത്തിടത്തോളം അധികാര പരിധിയിൽ നിന്നുകൊണ്ടു് അവർ അനുവർത്തിച്ച നയം തീർച്ചയായും ഒരു വിധത്തിലും ഇത്ര വളരെ വിമർശിക്കപ്പെടുവാനോ, ഒരു അവിശ്വാസ പ്രമേയം അവതരിപ്പിക്കപ്പെടുവാനോ ഇടയാകത്തക്കവണ്ണം അനാശാസ്യമല്ല എന്നു എനിക്കുറപ്പുണ്ടു്.

Mr. P. K. Dewer *(Nominated)*: We are not hearing anything, louder please.

Mr. President: That is a common occurrence in every legislative assembly.

മിസ്റ്റർ ടി. കെ. കുഞ്ഞുവറിയ്: പ്രജാമണ്ഡലത്തിന്റെയുപോലെതന്നെ നാഷണലിസ്റ്റ് പാർട്ടിയുടേയും പ്രഥമവും പ്രധാനവുമായലക്ഷ്യം ഉത്തരവാദിതഭരണം നേടുകയാണെന്നു് പല പ്രമേയങ്ങളാലും ഞങ്ങൾ സ്പഷ്ടമാക്കീട്ടുണ്ടു്. പക്ഷെ അതു് പ്രാപിക്കുന്നതിനുള്ള രീതിയെക്കുറിച്ചു മാത്രമാണു് കായ്മായ അഭിപ്രായ വ്യത്യാസമുള്ളതു്. കാലാനുസൃതം നടപ്പിലുള്ള ഭരണയന്ത്രത്തിനു് സ്തംഭനാവസ്ഥ വരുത്താതെ ജനങ്ങൾ ന്യായമായി അവകാശപ്പെടുന്ന പരിപൂർണ്ണ ഉത്തരവാദിതഭരണത്തിലേക്കു് അവരെ ആനയിക്കുകയാണു് ഞങ്ങളുടെ ലക്ഷ്യം ഈ ലക്ഷ്യത്തിൽനിന്നു് ഞങ്ങളുടെ പാർട്ടിയും മന്ത്രിമാരും വ്യതിചലിച്ചിട്ടില്ലെന്നു് ധൈര്യസമേതം പറയാവുന്നതാണു്. അടിയുറച്ചതും നിശ്ചിതവുമായ ഞങ്ങളുടെ നയത്തെക്കാൾ, മഹാരാജാവിൽനിന്നു് ഉത്തരവാദഭരണം സെക്കൻറ്വച്ചു് പിടിച്ചു് പറകയെന്നും പിടിച്ചു പറിച്ചെടുക്കുകയെന്നും ഉള്ള നയമാണു്. സ്വീകാര്യമായിതോന്നുന്നതെങ്കിൽ ഇനിവരുന്ന മന്ത്രികക്ഷികളോടും നേതാക്കന്മാരോടും എന്റെ അഭ്യർത്ഥന, രാജ്യത്തെ ഒരു വിപ്ലവത്തിലേയ്ക്കും അനിഷ്ട സംഭവങ്ങളിലേയ്ക്കും നയിക്കരുതെന്നു് മാത്രമാണു്. Paramount power

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(അധീശശക്തി) ഇരിക്കുന്നിടത്തോളം കാലം പൂർണ്ണ ഉത്തരവാദിത്വഭരണം പ്രജാമണ്ഡലം വീക്ഷിക്കുന്ന രീതിയിൽ ഉടനടി നടപ്പിൽ വരുമോ എന്ന് ഞാൻ സംശയിക്കുന്നു. ബ്രിട്ടീഷ് ഭരണം അവസാനിയ്ക്കുകയും ഇന്ത്യക്കാരാൽ ഭരിക്കപ്പെടുകയും ചെയ്താൽ നാട്ടരാജ്യങ്ങളിൽ താമസംവിനാ ആ ഭരണം വന്നു ചേരുമെന്നുള്ള അഭിപ്രായക്കാരനാണ് ഞാൻ. എന്നാൽ പ്രജാമണ്ഡലത്തിന്റെ വീക്ഷണഗതി, നമ്മുടെ നാട്ടിൽ ഭരണ കൂടത്തിനു മതസ്വാതന്ത്ര്യം ഉളവാക്കി നമ്മുടെ മഹാരാജാവിനു മനക്ലേശം ഉണ്ടാക്കുവാനാണ് എന്നതോന്നുന്നു. ഇതു് ഇതര നാട്ടരാജാക്കന്മാരെ അപേക്ഷിച്ചു തന്റെ പ്രജകളുടെ അവകാശങ്ങൾ എപ്പോഴും വകവച്ചു കൊടുക്കുവാൻ സന്നദ്ധനായി പരമാർത്ഥത്തിൽ കൊച്ചിയിലെ ജനങ്ങൾ പരിപൂർണ്ണ ഭരണ സ്വാതന്ത്ര്യം അനുഭവിക്കണമെന്നു് കാംക്ഷിക്കുന്ന നമ്മുടെ മഹാരാജാവു് തിരുമനസ്സിയാട്ടു് കാണിക്കുന്ന മഹത്തായ അനീതിയാകുമെന്നാണ് തോന്നുന്നതു്. മഹാരാജാവിന്റെ അടുത്തുണ്ടായ സന്ദേശത്തിൽ വ്യക്തമാക്കീട്ടുള്ളതുപോലെ പാട്ടികളുടെ അനിശ്ചിതാവസ്ഥയിൽ അവിടത്തേക്കുണ്ടായിട്ടുള്ള നിരാശ മാറുകയാണ് നമ്മുടെ ഇന്നത്തെ കർത്തവ്യം. അഭിപ്രായവ്യത്യാസങ്ങൾ പാട്ടികൾ തമ്മിൽ പറഞ്ഞുതീർത്തു എല്ലാവരും യോജിച്ചു് ഒരേ അഭിപ്രായത്തോടുകൂടി പൂർണ്ണമായ ഭരണ സ്വാതന്ത്ര്യം ആവശ്യപ്പെടാം.

Mrs. K. M. R. Menon *(Trichur-Women):* Mr. President, Sir, It is a matter of some surprise to me ta hear the allegations made by the Hon'ble Member for Trichur (South) on the floor of the House. Though the Hon'ble Member may not expect any reply from me as the allegations are silly and unfounded, yet I would like to refer to them and say a word or two.

Mr. President: I will ask the Hon'ble Member if she is referring to the portions of the Hon'ble Member's speech which I ruled out of order. If that is so, the Hon'ble Member's speech is equally out of order.

Mrs. K. M. R. Menon *(Tirchur-Women):* If the Hon'ble Member is speaking on his own behalf I would rather accord to his remarks the reception that personal remarks actuated by personal ideas of vindictiveness are usually accorded in popular legislatures. What is he out to prove? If his party had run a candidate for the election as it did in the last bye-election at Trichur, it was the duty of his party to have supported that candidate and not let her down. I was a Prajamandal candidate and I openly fought the election as such. The candidate who opposed me belonged to the nationalist party. I never saw any statement in public, and I am sure none of the Hon'ble Members would have seen it that my opponent had either left the party or the Nationalist party had withdrawn their support for her . . . . . .

Mr. President: Order, order. I have already warned the Hon'ble Member and I ruled the subject out of order when the Hon'ble Member brought it up.

Mrs. K. M. R. Menon *(Trichur-Women):* In such circumstances is the Hon'ble Member trying to show that he and his party had been treacherous to my opponent by letting her down during an election. If that he so, and what the Hon'ble Member had said amounts to that effect, then the party will stand self-condemned and has no right to a hearing before decent men and much less before this House.

Mr. President: Order, order. This is quite irrelevant to the motion in hand.

Mrs. K. M. R. Menon *(Trichur-Women):* In my capacity as a candidate, I had interviewed almost every voter including members of the other parties of this House. It is neither fair to them nor correct on my part to go into the discussions and conversations that I had with them on those occasions. I had let anyone intentionally to believe that I would be disloyal to my party ticket or to my convictions.

Mr. President: Order, order. I do not understand how this is relevant to the motion in hand.

Mrs. K. M. R. Menon *(Trichur-Women):* I support this motion.

Mr. P. Kumaran Ezhuthassan *(Vadakkancheri):* Mr. President, I wish, at the very outset, to most heartily congratulate the Hon'ble leader of the opposition for the dignified way in which he levelled the charge—if charge there was—against the Ministry which, according to him, is simply a window-dressed show. Now, Sir, the Constitution Act of Cochin, being graciously granted by one of her illustrious Rulers, the first Minister being installed in office accordingly on the 1st of Mithunam 1113, the diarchical system of Government which the Hon'ble mover of the no-confidence motion condemned in strong terms has been working for over 8 years now.

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I at once hasten to inform the leader of the opposition and this Hon'ble House that there is an ocean of difference between the working of diarchy in British Indian provinces and in an enlightened State like Cochin. I cannot dilate on this for want of time.

We had, Sir, before the present Ministers' time, three Ministers. It was unfortunate, Sir, that the first Minister of Cochin the late Mr. Ambat Sivarama Menon died an untimely death. It is noteworthy, Sir, that first Minister of Cochin represented a constituency of my taluk, the Cheruthuruthy Constituency whose representative now is our present Hon'ble Minister for Development—a pushful, imaginative and energetic Minister. I am afraid, Mr. President that a Ministry run by our Hon'ble Member returned from the Constituency of Cheruthuruthy is destined to be a short lived one.

Before the conclusion of 90 days it fell to the sad lot of Cochin that the first Minister was called away by the Maker. Then came the second Minister of Cochin the redoubtable Dr. A. R. Menon. It was on the 19th day of Chingam 1114 after a week of resumption of the transferred departments by the Diwan—as the Government were not in a position to find out who was the leader of then ministerialist party, the famous Cochin Congress party, long ago defunct, of which the leader of the opposition, who was sponsored this motion today, had been one of the prominent members after disowning his earlier party the Cochin State Congress, then led by my esteemed friend Rao Bahadur Mr. T. K. Nayar.

Now, Sir, within 10 months of this redoubtable doctor became Minister, *i.e.*, on 22nd July 1939 a member of the then opposition led by the Hon'ble Rao Bahadur sponsored what was interpreted to be a no-confidence motion, though the form in which it was moved assumed the nature of a token cut of Re. 1 on the salary of the Minister. After the discussion went on for a while, my Hon'ble friend Rao Sahib Mr. K. Ayyappan, the Deputy leader of the then opposition voluntarily informed the House in his characteristic way that the motion was not intended by the party to be a no-confidence motion at all. My esteemed friend the Rao Sahib who has assured us the other day that he never sought for his title—but we know the history of titles, how they are got and why they are given, what precedes and follows this ceremony, intervened in this debate at the appropriate moment and insisted in telling the House that the cut motion was not intended to be a no-confidence motion. I am only giving my own paraphrase of the Council Proceedings. If anyone will dare to contradict these statements, I shall open to them the pages of the printed proceedings of this House which I have kept flagged.

Mr. P. Govinda Menon *(Ernakulam)*: Thank you, for the warning.

Mr. P. Kumaran Ezhuthassan *(Vadakkancheri)*: Yes, Sir, my Hon'ble friend will have to thank me for many things more and I shall gladly accept the thanks. He the Rao Sahib just wanted to give a twist and a turn to the motion that was under discussion and repeatedly said that it was not a no-confidence motion and all the Hon'ble Members who followed him repeated saying that the motion was certainly not a no-confidence motion and that that the opposition only wanted to discuss the policy of the Hon'ble Minister. But the redoubtable doctor insisted in having the motion put to vote though leave was sought to withdraw the same. Accordingly leave to withdraw was refused, the motion was put to vote and it met with the fate that it so richly deserved. The motion was lost. The first attempt of my Hon'ble friend the Rao Bahadur to oust the Minister failed thus.

I am not complaining Mr. President, that motions of no-confidence should never be moved. On the other hand, I think these motions are a sign of growth. They are indeed a sign of growth and a proof of the political consciousness of the people of Cochin and their fitness to work the constitution which was granted to us. That, Sir, is the import and the significance of no-confidence motions being moved. I shall therefore request Hon'ble Members sitting on my left—the Ministeralists—that they are not to be chagrined at the present no-confidence motion at all.

Now, Sir, not even 10 months did elapse before a regular no-confidence motion was tabled this time also, by the opposition led by Rao Bahadur Mr. T. K. Nayar, although another party of opposition consisting of defectionists from both the State Congress and the Cochin Congress had sprung up in the meanwhile. That was a motion ably moved by my distinguished friend the Hon'ble Mr. L. M. Pylee on the 4th of April 1941. In a way charcteristic of the professor, that he is, he marshalled his charges against the doctor in such a striking manner that if votes had been given on the merits of the case which often unfortunately is not the case, the motion of no-confidence would have ended in success. The chief spokesman of the Ministerialist party, the Hon'ble mover of the present motion, attempted to meet in his characteristic style and

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with unusual force everyone of the able arguments brought forward by the Hon'ble professor. But these arguments would not have titled the nature of the voting and the Ministry would have been defeated but a wonderful phenomenon, which had been seen during the last week as also during the closing day of the last April sitting of the Council, *(Hear, hear)*, that was seen exhibited them. I am glad, Sir, that this phenomenon has been noted as exhibited by the 'hear, hear', we hear on its mention. You will find, Sir, from the printed proceedings of this Council dated 4th April 1941 that Hon'ble Members of this new opposition group who stood up to get the permission of the Hon'ble President to move the motion of the Hon'ble Professor, a party then known by the identical name of which my friend the Hon'ble Rao Bahadur is the leader stood up in unholy coalition with the State Congress whose number was only 9 then to make the number of members 21.....

Mr. President: The Hon'ble Member has spoken for 10 minutes. He does not seem to reach very near the point.

Mr. P. Kumaran Ezhuthassan *(Vadakkancheri):* Yes, Mr. President, I shall come to the point presently. May I know how much time I have got yet. Can I take 15 minutes more, Sir?

Mr. President: 5 minutes more.

Mr. P. Kumaran Ezhuthassan *(Vadakkancheri):* Then, Sir, by a defection of the then progressive party described earlier, one member of which is sitting in this Council to-day, *viz.*, the deputy leadear of the opposition having refused to vote for the motion after standing up in unhol alliance with the State Congress just for a day for getting permission, the motion went futt.

Mr. P. Govinda Menon *(Ernakulam):* It is not true.

Mr. P. Kumaran Ezhuthassan *(Vadakkancheri):* It is true. My Hon'ble friend may please refer to page of the Proceedings of the Council, dated 4th April 1941. I have flagged the page for his reference. Here I pass on the volume to the interruptor.

Mr. P. Govinda Menon *(Ernakulam):* You please refer.

Mr. P. Kumaran Ezhuthassan *(Vadakkancheri):* I have referred. It is for you now to refer to it if you question my statement. When an Hon'ble Member's name is mentioned, Sir, in this context certainly this sort of interruption is sure to come from the corner from which it has come. Truth, it is said, Sir, is often unpleasant and even embarrassing at times. My point, Sir, is that this time also, the attempt of the Rao Bahadur to unseat the Ministry failed.

In 1117 Kumbham a successful motion sponsored again by the Rao Bahadur's newly grouped opposition party—the coalition party—was carried and my friend Mr. T. K. Nayar was installed in office. He it may be noted, Sir, got what he was striving for for more than 3 years, my esteemed friend began his Ministry very well, but he too had to face a no-confidence motion, but that attempt was made unlike Mr. Nayar's periodical attempts at 'grab' more than 2 years after he became Minister. But before he had to face the motion of no-confidence against him my Hon'ble friend, Sir, had the courage of conviction to come before this House to ask for a vote of confidence in him when he found that some members of his party had left him and yet others were wavering. When he found that he boldly came before this House to ask for a vote of confidence in him which he got as he deserved it then. There was not even a single dissentient voice raised against him, as will be seen from the printed proceedings of this Council for Meenam 1119. But within 5 months of this motion of confidence, his party on the initiative of his new associate the astute Rao Sahib and another who, fortunately, is not in this House now, succeeded in liquidating the ministerialist party in the absence of the party leader. This other member, usually known as the 'King Maker' it is well known to all, sponsored in the Budget Session of 1119, *i. e.* on 27th July 1944 his now notorious "over-hauling motion" which is very fresh in our minds. It met with the fate that it so richly deserved.

Mr. T. K. Nayar after being returned to the present Council from his old constituency, though he knew that a no-confidence motion against his interim ministry, if moved, will not be passed, had to resign, much against his wish, because of the peculiar neutrality of the present opposition regarding ministry and a group led by the Rao Sahib having joined Mr. Lonappen's Nationalist party and Mr. Lonappen was installed in office, just an year back. These events are very fresh in our memories and I do not therefore intend to refer to them. It will thus be seen Mr. President, the Hon'ble Rao Bahadur was always at 'grab' and when once installed in office

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was quite unwilling to vacate it. Now that he is out he is again at 'grab' and his soiled hands are quite visible behind the motion under discussion, though sponsored by the opposition. The feeling that it was because of Mr. Lonappen and Mr. Menon that he had unwillingly to resign his office any ear ago has been the cause of his unholy alliance with the Socialist and the Mandal.

Now, to the charges levelled against the ministry. The charge so cleverly brought forward against the ministry is that Cochin is fully ripe for full responsible Government and the Ministers have not done anything to hasten its advent. The Hon'ble sponsor of the motion has specifically referred to the demonstration that Ernakulam witnessed on the 13th Karkadagam and the demand of 30 Hon'ble Members of this Hon'ble House excluding the ministerialists as proof of the people's temper. I have absolutely no complaint, Sir, as the Hon'ble Mr. Koder seems to have, about demonstrations in streets. But I am, indeed, sorry to note that the slogans previously approved by the Mandal uttered by the demonstrators on that day did not contain even a word in regard to prohibition being introduced in the State, though the opposition claims they form the counter-part, in Cochin, of the Great Indian National Congress of which I have been a member all along. The gravamen of the charge against the ministry is that the window-dressed ministry becoming a dignified office because of the system of cabinet consultations introduced by our present Maharaja as envisaged in the announcement at the Installation Durbar on the 21st March 1946 should have pressed for the immediate framing of rules regarding such cabinet consultations and work for further advance referred to in that announcement itself. But, Sir, Cochin papers have actually published that there have been such consultations whether regular set of rules for such consultation had been framed or not, and it has been stated, the other day, that regular rules regarding such cabinet consultations are in the making. Then I ask, Sir, what is the complaint against the ministry ?

As against the Hon'ble Minister for Development it is stated by the Hon'ble mover that he who at the Legislative meeting of this year had said that, if full responsible Government is not granted, before the Budget Session of this year, that is this session, the demand for grants should all be thrown out was found wanting when the time came the other day when the demnad for General Administration was opposed by the leader of the opposition. This charge, again, Sir, cannot stand against our energetic Minister for Development or anyone who voted for the demand like myself. Since that utterance of his events have taken place in Cochin which should change the attitude of every thinking and unbiased citizen of Cochin and that is why either the Hon'ble Minister for Development or my humble self did not find it possible to join issue with the sponsor of the motion under discussion in his unwise attempt to throw out the General Administration Budget the other day.

And the last charge was, Sir, that the Hon'ble Ministers and their party attended this Council to receive a loving message from His Highness the Maharaja on the opening day of this session, against the demand made on them by the leader of the opposition for abstention. The only answer to this charge, Sir, is that those that attended the Council were not either foolish or disloyal enough to want only offer an insult to our beloved Maharaja. The thing is only this, *viz.*, that the leader of the opposition succeeded in pulling up two groups—groups led by the Rao Bahadur and Rao Sahib—but did not succeed in pulling up the Hon'ble Ministers and their party and therefore having got a temporary strength of 29 by an unholy alliance the Hon'ble leader of the opposition stoops to wreak his vengeance on the Hon'ble Ministers through his motion of want of confidence in them. But for the accidental success in effecting this unholy coalition of elements who have nothing in common this motion would not have been brought in this House with any hope of success. I have no quarrel, Sir, with the opposition, in its sponsoring this motion, for the opposition is working in this Council under directives from its High Command, but the opposition should not have gone in for this unholy coalition.

Mr. P. Govinda Menon *(Ernakulam)*: There is no coalition.

Mr. P. Kumaran Ezhuthassan *(Vadakkancheri)*: I was not referring, Sir, to the coalition between the opposition and the other unholy groups. I was speaking particulary, Sir, of the Sahib—Bahadur combination effected only last week. My Hon'ble friend the Rao Bahadur is an experienced Member of this House and had run the administration for 3 years as the Hon'ble Minister for Rural Development. Equally experienced is the Rao Sahib. Because of their personal vendetta against the Hon'ble Ministers, each one of them, had fallen an easy prey to the clever machinations of the leader of the opposition who was on the hunt for getting strength for the success of his cause. Here are easy victims easily got. I cannot think, Sir, of an Hon'ble Member having been in this Government having been His Highness' trusted Minister for over 3 years and rendered service to the country going to the length of not attending this Council even after he

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was told by the Diwan of Cochin that a loving message from His Highness the Maharaja will be read in open Council on the opening day of the session.

The Hon'ble mover of the No-confidence motion has told this House that his party would not go in for office, nor would his strange bed-fellows the Rao Sahib and the Rao Bahadur accept the ministry, suggesting thereby that it is not 'grab' that is behind the motion. I submit, Sir that if the leader of the opposition does not accept office, it is not because that he is not covetous of it, but because the rank and file of his party— the verile left-wingers there in-have not allowed and will not allow him to be a minister. And if the leaders of the Progressive and Socialist groups will not really accept the Ministry it is not because they are not anxious to be ministers but because they dare not do so, for, people will not only laugh at them but will even hoot them if they as Ministers would draw their salaries from a certified amount— certified to get over the foolish performance of their in throwing out the General Administration Budget.

Now, Sir, the success of the motion will be due not to its merits, for merits there are none in it- but to numerical strength brought about by unholy alliances adverted to by me but of strength itself it will be profitable if we remember the immortal lines of the immortal Poet Milton. Says the blind poet:—

"What is strength without a double share of wisdom?
Vast, unwieldy, burthensome,, proudly serene,
yet liable to fall by weakest subtleties;
Strength's not made to rule, but to subserve, where wisdom bears command"

Was the action of this unholy coalition. Mr. President, in throwing out the General Administration Budject wise? Was it wisdom Sir, I ask, on their part so to do? It never was. Do not be carried away by mere numerical strength alone; but use that strength with wisdom sot hat the people of Cochin may be benefited by your actions.I submit, Sir, that if the voting is to be on the merits alone, this motion will meet with the fate that it deserves. It will be ignominously thrown out by this Hon'ble House. But it is, unfortunately for Cochin, going to be otherwise. The motion will be pressed put to vote and passed with 29 votes for the motion. The Ministers' resignations will follow and the transferred departments as many as 18 in number will be resumed by the Diwan and the old Officer—Government of Cochin will be installed in all its fullness. This will be the achievement brought about by this unholy coalition so cleverly manoured by the leader of the opposition to which the two title-holders have fallen easy victims. A glorious achievement indeed!

I decided to intervene in this debate, Sir, at its fag end, just to tell things in their nakedness so that the people may know who is who and what is what in Cochin. I shall sit down Sir, drawing to the kind notice of my esteemed friend the Hon'ble mover of the motion of non-confidence the following words of Shakespeare:—

"Oh! it is excellent to have a giant's strength;
but it is tyraneous to use it like a giant".

I have done, Mr. President. I thank you and the Hon'ble House for the indulgence.

Mr. K. Balakrishna Menon *(Minister for Development):* Mr. President, I can stand the roar of a lion but not the hiss of a cobra. There is as much majesticity in the one as there is venom in the other. It is the hiss of the cobra that is contained in the speech of the Hon'ble the leader of the Prajamandal Party that has provoked me to stand today and address the House a few words. But for it my idea was to stand up and thank him for the motion that has been brought before the house. My friend referred to a fall on my part. But I may tell him that my fall is not as great as his when he indulges in beastly enjoyment of innuendoes and insinuations in allegations which are quite unfounded. He was making reference to the constitutional activity of mine regarding the first cabinet meeting which we had with the Diwan at Coonoor immediately after my appointment as the Minister. I do not know from where he got the information. If it was from the papers I expect that as a lawyer that he is who has studied the constitutional Law should have credited me another brother of his profession with a little knowledge of the same before relying upon the paper report. He had ample opportunities of ascertaining the veracity of that statement. But he did not do it. Sir, If I am not disclosing a confidence, you know, what it was that we discussed and at whose instance it was. It was in regard to the arrest and custody of Cherian Manjuran which I think we were not justified in disclosing to the public then.

Mr. President: I think it would be well if I remind the Hon'ble Minister that what transpired at a cabinet meeting is always treated with the greatest confidence. I think it would be well to establish that convention from the very start here.

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Mr. K. Balakrishna Menon *(Minister for Development):* I am sorry Sir, that I have taken the wrong step.

Mr. President: I do not say that.

Mr. K. Balakrishna Menon *(Minister for Development):* Anyway that has served my purpose.

Now, Sir, the second charge that is levelled against me is that I was not sticking to the original views expressed by me during the last Budget Session. It is a fact that I was the first man to put it to the House that the budget will have to be thrown out if constitutional reforms were not granted. I still stick on to that view. But Sir, I take it that it is bad taste for me to have joined issue with the Prajamandal or the other members of the party to have thrown out the Budget in the light of what His Highness was pleased to announce and that too within so short a time in contra-distinction to what his predecessors have done. If it is a mistake or if it is a failure on my part, I welcome Sir, such failures and for heavens to come I may not mind repeating the same. If I felt that my coming away from the Council was going to hasten responsible Government by one day earlier, I certainly, would have done it and associated myself with the Prajamandal Party. But I do not feel like that. It is rediculous to hold and much more to conceive that a Minister or Ministers for that matter would have obtained full responsible Government at the hands of His Highness, all for the mere asking of it. I really do not understand the logic of it. I would have had absolutely no quarrel with the motion that is now brought forward by the Prajamandal Party if it is meant to exhibit their numerical strength; but I cannot agree on the political issue. I do not see why they should come forward with such a motion when they see that His Highness was pleased to announce his intention of granting further constitutional reforms, far a head of what even they had conceived. I submit that I am unconcerned about this motion. I was and am concerned in the discharge of my duties as Minister. In regard to that I have done everything without fear or favour and without swerving from the path of duty. I may tell the Hon'ble Member, if it has been the misfortune that I have been appointed as a Minister, it is a misfortune for which I am not responsible. It is only by an accident that I happened to be the Minister, but I can assure them that I have not squandered my parternal property either for attaining or retaining the Ministry. I may for the information of this House that I was able to do something for labour, and it was the proudest day of my life when day before yesterday, I was informed, that the Conciliation Board which was created at my instance in the Sitaram Mills was able to secure Rs. 1,50,000 for the labourers, not by legislative compulsion, not by strike, but by sweet persuation, by the force of logic and by adjustments. Sir, I have served the people to the best of my ability. I have no plea to make.

Mr. Parambi Lonappen *(Minister for Public Health):* Sir, I have not come with a written speech. I expected Sir, the Hon'ble Leader of the Prajamandal Party would level against me a dignified attack so that if it is possible for me to answer them categorically. I regret to find that the attack is neither dignified nor is their an attack. All that I could gather from his speech is an attack against me is that on 13th Karkadagam I entered the Council at 7-30 a.m. Well, if the leader of the Prajamandal Party, the Hon'ble Mr. Govinda Menon were to take such gossips as true facts and state it in this House, I should consider it as a disgraceful performance. As a matter of fact, Sir, when it was reported that there are going to be picketing in the Council Hall and the Minister's Gate on that day, suggestions were made to me to ask Police protection. The Hon'ble Minister said that he knows the people of Cochin, that he can get on without police aid and that he will be able to come into the Council with the consent of the people to do his duty and accordingly, Sir, I refused to have any police protection to come to the Council Hall. I am not afraid of our people. They are good and honest people. I am not afraid of the labourers. They are sweating their brows for their livelihood without any bad intentions. I am not afraid of the agriculturist. I am not afraid of the rich men. But I am afraid of serpants who have got only poison in their mouths. (*Hear, hear*). To state in this House by the leader of the Prajamandal Party that I coolly came to the Council at 7-30 a.m. when I actually entered the Hall at 11-15 is something quite untrue. I never expected such an attack from the leader of the Prajamandal Party knowing as he did me for a long time. Just a few days ago I met him when I explained to him the position of the Office of the Minister he told me that he knew I was a handicapped person as member and that my duties required you to be present in the Council Hall. At the same time he said he will have to say so to the public. Well, Sir, if that is to be the advise that he can give is it proper on his part in this Council Hall to mislead the public in general and Hon'ble Members that I like a coward came

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here at 7-30 when it is not a fact. Well, Sir, if you attack me, attack me properly and not in this cowardly manner. I have not come here with a written speech. I thought that I will have to answer some charges. But there is none. Now what is the other charge. It is that I attended the Council on the 13th instead of taking part in my constituency in the demonstrations at Irinjalakkuda. Well, Sir, I did not go and enjoy the demonstrations at Irinjalakkuda. I knew from reliable sources that the Hartal at Irinjalakkuda was not a voluntary one. It was a forced one, against the will of the people. I know it from reliable sources, from respectable persons and even if there is a hartal, I have got my duty to perform, to attend the Council knowing that there was a message from H. H. the Maharaja to be announced in the Council by the President. To hear that message read in the Council it was my duty as Minister to attend this House without being carried away by those demonstrations and yet you level that charge against me. My friend of so many years acquintance with in wrote to me that I should abstain from attending the Council; I gave him a reply requesting him for a talk to which he never replied nor did he come to me. If he had replied I would have gone to him as I did not feel ashamed to go to him after this motion was tabled in this House against me. What is the charge against me. I do not know. If there is any charge it is not against me but it is against somebody else and it is not for me to answer that charge. I have been doing all in my power for advancing the cause of full responsible Government in Cochin. You know that, Sir, Hon'ble President fully well why I went to Coonoor and stayed there for 3 or 4 days. I went there to advance the cause of full responsible Government. It is not possible for me to refer to all the things that transpired in the conversation with the Diwan. I am not going to indulge in this discussion about the change of parties by the Hon'ble Members. My Honourable friend Rao Sahib Ayyappan knows fully well what happened. There are certain people like Goobels who persistently carry on false propaganda. But papers like Sahodaran have not mentioned anything about me. I abundantly made it clear on former occasions what my attitude is towards the advancement of responsible Government in Cochin. Even in 1945 when I was invited to deliver the inaugurat address at the St. Thomas College I had referred to the unification of Kerala. I have also expressed them what my views are on Responsible Government in Cochin. The Hon'ble mover of this motion has cut the grass under my feet. I cannot stand anywhere. There is no charge. I have been asked to fight in the air. There is no charge except that I attended the Council on that day. I therefore request you not to level unreasonable charges against me. If you are for responsible Government we are also for responsible Government. My Hon'ble friend wrote a letter to the Secretary of the Nationalist Party on Tuesday evening saying that he and others are going to demand for responsible Government and that we should also sign that statement. But, Sir, that statement did contain something else. My secretary came to me at 10 O'Clock when I was just going to bed saying that there was a letter from the leader of the Prajamandal Party. I told him that we are for full responsible Government but not for throwing away the General Administration Budget or the Police Budget. We are in fact for full responsible Government but according to us there is no necessity that the General Administration Budget or the Police Budget should be thrown out for that purpose. With that condition we agreed to sign that document. We are believers in law and order. Government must go on. Therefore it was not possible for us to sign that document. Let not the public understand that we have not signed the document because that we are against full responsible Government. We are also one with the other members of the Council for full responsible Government. We are co-operating with you for that purpose; but the method of securing full responsible Government is somewhat different. I was a Congress-man before I became an officer in the State. I am a true follower of Mahathma Gandhi. (Hear, hear). I am a true believer in non-violence. Is there non-violence in words coming from the Mouth of the Prajamandal leader? Is there non-violence in truth in what is stated today? I am a true follower of Mahathma Gandhi, I was also a follower of late Pandit Motilal Nehru, late C. R. Das and late Mr. S. Sreenivasa Iyengar. They were for responsive co-operation and they had been for Indians, Self Respect. I and my party are for full responsible Government.

Mr. P. Govinda Menon *(Ernakulam):* Mr. President, I find it very difficult to answer to the replies made by two excited gentlemen about to quit office. The very fact that both my esteemed friends, the Minister for Public Health and the Minister for Development, were not able to find any charges in the speech made by me is the very charge against them. Sir, what was my charge against these gentlemen? I never referred to—if I wanted I could have done it, but I did not want to do it—I never referred to any failings in their administration. I am not concerned with that at present. My point was, Sir, that these two gentlemen by consenting to

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occupy an office which according to the mood of the people today has become most unsatisfactory to the people, have retarded the progress of responsible Government. That was the grave man of my charge and the very fact that the Member for Public Health, a follower of several illustrious men in India, was not able to understand that charge shows that he is unfit to occupy that place of responsibility. Sir, both my hon'ble friends referred to poison in my words. The followers of the Ministers got excited and referred to poisonus dealings and poisonous words uttered by persons who sponsored this motion. It is a pity that a no-confidence motion is treated as something personal. It is not because either myself or my friends have anything personal against these two gentlemen that we moved this motion. Words were uttered by some of the followers of the Ministers about gratitude, about pledged words and about right conduct in these matters. If it comes to this, no no-confidence motion can be moved against a Minister or Ministers without being charged of being poisonous, without being charged of having comitted breach of faith, without being charged of being unfit to have responsible Government. I say, if that is the state of affairs, then woe unto responsible Government here. Greater men than these Ministers, men who occupied far higher positions in life than these Ministers have had to quit office because the opposition was stronger and the opposition thought that they did not deserve to continue in that office.

Mr. P. Kumaran Ezhuthassan *(Vadakkancheri):* Which is the opposition that the Hon'ble Member refers to? Prajamandal?]

Mr. P. Govinda Menon *(Ernakulam):* I never came accross in the page of reports of the public proceedings the excited exhibitions which we found in this House to-day and the calumny and the attack made against the sponsors of this motion. Some of the speeches read against the motion of no-confidence seemed to indicate that if these two Ministers did not continue in office, if the opposition does not behave by keeping back the non-confidence motion by withdrawing it, then this country is not fit for responsible Government. That was what my hon'ble friend Mr. Sebastian said, that was the spirit of what my friend Mr. Verghess said. My friend Mr. Eluthassan from Vadakkancheri wanted to trace the history of no-confidence motions in this House and before he could reach the no-confidence motion under discussion, unfortunately for him and fortunately for this House the time at his disposal came to an end *(laughter)*. Sir, he thinks, in spite of all the wisdom that he gathered by perusing the records of the proceedings of the Legislative Council, he thought, Sir, that this Council committed something most irresponsible in throwing out the General Administration budget.

Mr. P. Kumaran Ezhuthassan *(Vadakkancheri):* I didn't say that.

Mr. P. Govinda Menon *(Ernakulam):* Sir, if the Hon'ble Member from Vadakkancheri and if other members who opposed that motion of mine did really believe in what they said on the floor of this House that they are dis-satisfied with this system of administration, then, irrespective of consequences the only logical course they could take was to throw out the demands for money for running this administration.

Mr. P. Kumaran Ezhuthassan *(Vadakkancheri):* Question.

Mr. P. Govinda Menon *(Ernakulam):* And if my Hon'ble Friend can think of no other course except the power of certification in the Diwan for restoring the grant again, I must tell him that there are more constitutional modes of doing it. We are not here for destruction.

Mr. P. Kumaran Ezhuthassan *(Vadakkancheri)*: Thank God.

Mr. P. Govinda Menon *(Ernakulam):* We do not want this State to pass into the hands of the mob, the labourers and other common people whom the Hon'ble Member for Public Health des not fear, we do not want this State to lapse into their hands. We want an administration, a stable administration, a responsible administration. And we still do not believe that it is impossible for the authorities concerned to constitute such an administration. And my hon'ble friend from Vadakkancheri was very solicitous about Rao Bahadur T. K. Nayar and Rao Sahib Ayyappan coming into power aud drawing salary from a fund rejected by this House and restored by the Diwan. If these hon'ble friends are going to take the office about to be vacated by the present Ministers, I make bold to state on the floor of this House that the same attitude which the Prajamandal is taking against these two Ministers will be taken against them also *(hear, hear)*. We want that there must be an advancel, a proper advance, acceptable advance, in the direction of constitutional reforms. And if that is done, this House can meet again and pass the budget that has been rejected in the Budget Session. No restoration is necessary.

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Sir, one thing more and I would have done. Something was said about unholy alliances and other things. There is absolutely no alliance, holy or unholy, on the floor of this House. This no-confidence motion was sponsored by me on behalf of my Party not on account of any direction from outside.....

Mr. P. Kumaran Ezhuthassan *(Vadakkancheri):* From your high command, I say.

Mr. P. Govinda Menon *(Ernakulam):* We have no High Command; I say, no.

Mr. P. Kumaran Ezhuthassan *(Vadakkancheri):* That is what we saw published in papers.

Mr. P. Govinda Menon *(Ernakulam):* We have no High Command, Sir.

Mr. P. Kumaran Ezhuthassan *(Vadakkancheri):* The working committee, I say.

Mr. P. Govinda Menon *(Ernakulam):* Then say that.

.....but on account of the directions given to us by the people and which direction we did not consider to be restrictive of our liberties. We believe, Sir, that free-lancers like by the Hon'ble Member from Vadakkancheri have absolutely no future in this country.

Mr. P. Kumaran Ezhuthassan *(Vadakkancheri):* I don't want it, Sir. I don't claim it.

Mr. P. Govinda Menon *(Ernakulam):* And unless Hon'ble Members have their roots deep in the masses, their voices will not be respected, their voices will not be heard and their voices will not have common value even before this Government.

Mr. P. Kumaran Ezhuthassan *(Vadakkancheri):* That is what you see them do.

Mr. Puthur Achutha Menon *(Kattur):* That is what is happening.

Mr. P. Govinda Menon *(Ernakulam):* It is because we have our roots in the masses, I may be permitted to use the words of the Minister for Public Health, it is on account of that fact that we are able to take a clear and well-defined stand before this House. That alone, Sir, is the principle behind this no-confidence motion and it is because we felt that these two gentlemen sitting there cut absolutely adrift from the mood of the people will constitute a danger in spite of their pious desire for responsible Government, will constitute a danger to the progress of the onward march of the people towards full responsible Government, it is on account of that fact that we move this no-confidence motion, and not that we have anything to do against them. If during my speech I said anything which was calculated to wound their personal feelings I wish to apologise on the floor of this house. It was my information that the Minister for Public Health entered the Council Hall early on that day and I am sorry that I made that statement without verifying it from the Hon'ble Minister. I openly apologise to him from the floor of this House (hear, hear). I again request him not to have anything personal against us on account of this motion. I make, Sir, the request to the Hon'ble friend Mr. Balakrishna Menon also. I referred to a report in Deepam which I happened to read. As a lawyer as he is a lawyer, as a person who must know the constitutional procedure as he does, my friend reminds me that I ought to have referred the matter to him before I made that statement. The suggestion is that he has not made any such statement. I accept his statement and apologise to him also. But again I want to represent on the floor of this House that I want these two gentlemen to go not because I do not love them, not because I have no respect for them, not because I have any disregard for them, but because I love my country more, but because I have greater regard for my country, but because I believe that unless they go and unless the motion that I have introduced on the floor of this House is passed, and unless our demand is met, there is no progress for the lakhs and lakhs and millions of people inhabiting not alone this country but other parts of India also. And it is on account of that fact insistent and irresistible demands for full responsible Government are made and in order to give expression to which we may have to throw out budgets, we may have to move no-confidence motions, we would have to stage demonstrations—you may say those demonstrations were forced, but I know they were voluntary. So a mob was moving about. I know it was a disciplined, determined silent people who are feeling as you also, whom you are characterising as mob, it is those people's desire that I should bring forth this motion on the floor of this House. I ask the gentlemen to know the mood of the people and to quit office which generally was meant to make a demand to the authorities for full responsible Government. With these remarks, Sir, I put this motion for the unanimous acceptance of this House.

Motion put and carried

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Mr. P. A. Muhamad Ashrof *(Cranganur)*: Poll, Sir.

Ayes

1. Mrs. K. M. R. Menon
2. Mr. K. T. Achuthan
3. Mr. K. I. Velayudhan
4. Mr. P. K. Dewer
5. Mr. K. S. Panicker
6. Mr. K. Kochukuttan
7. Mr. K. K. Kannan
8. Rao Sahib K. Ayyappan
9. Mr. P. Govinda Menon
10. Mr. Puthur Achutha Menon
11. Mr. V. R. Krishnan Ezhuthassan
12. Mr. P. K. Paul
13. Mr. P. Sankara Menon
14. Mr. M. I. Paul
15. Mr. M. K. Raja
16. Mr. C. R. Iyyunni
17. Choudhury G. S. Dhara Singh
18. Mr. C. S. Panicker
19. Mr. P. Mani
20. Mr. P. T. Jacob
21. Rao Bahadur T. K. Nayar
22. Mr. L. M. Pylee
23. Mr. S. P. Luiz
24. Mr. K. R. Ramakrishnan
25. Mr. M. K. Verghese
26. Mr. Paramel Ipe Ipe
27. Mr. P. Narayana Menon
28. Mr. K. Natarajan Chettiar
29. Mr. R. S. Thevanna Gounder

Noes

1. Mrs. T. Francis
2. Messrs. A. Eachara Menon
3. P. A. Mohamed Ashroff
4. Jos. K. Verghese
5. Dr. S. S. Rao
6. S. S. Koder
7. Messrs. T. K. L. Kunhuvareed
8. T. V. Kochuvareed
9. M. O. Thomakutty
10. P. V. Sebastian
11. K. A. Raghavan
12. K. Balakrishna Menon
13. Parambi Lonappen

Mr. President: The motion is carried 29 voting for and 13 against.

Mr. Parambi Lonappen *(Minister for Public Health)*: Sir, I wish to make a statement. I stood up against the motion to show that I have got confidence in myself, but to implement the desire of the Council, my resignation follows.

3. GOVERNMENT BILLS

3. The Cochin Payment of Salaries and Allowances Act (Amendment) Bill

Rama Varmha Tampuran, M.B.E.: *(Chief Secretary to Government)*: Sir, I pray that Standing Order No. 32, may be suspended and I may be allowed to move that the Cochin Payment of Salaries and Allowances Act Amendment Bill be taken into consideration now.

Mr. M. Sivarama Menon *(Advocate-General)*: I second it.

Mr. President: I must ask for silence in the visitors' gallery.

Motion put and carried.

Rama Varmha Tampuran, M.B.E. *(Chief Secretary to Government)*: I move that the Bill be taken into consideration now.

Mr. M. Sivarama Menon *(Advocate-General)*: I second it.

Mr. President: I think the Hon'ble Member Mr. Kumaran Ezhuthassan should apologise to the House for keeping it waiting.

Mr. P. Kumaran Ezhuthassan *(Vadakkancheri)*: I am sorry, Sir. I do apologise to the House. Mr. President, I move that section 2-A be recast as shown in the agenda, reading "Each Minister shall be entitled to a daily allowance of Rs. 15 and travelling allowance as follows.—

Double first class fare. Mileage at Re. 1 per mile.

What is in the Government's amending Bill is that the Ministers be given the same travelling allowance and daily allowance as are allowed to the Diwans from time to time. That, Sir, as I had occasion to refer at the earlier stage of this Bill on some other day was certainly a suggestion, through an amendment, that I made in an earlier session of this Council when also this identical Bill had come up for amendment. My object then, Sir, was that the Ministers who are as a matter of fact on paper as also in practice with the honourable colleagues of the Diwan—two

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